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DEDICATED
TO
MAHATMA GANDHI
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DELHI- .

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THOUGHTS FOR SERIOUS COGITATION.

"That no pronouncement or statement should
"be made by His Majesty's Government which would
"in any way militate against the basic and funda-
"mental principles laid down by the Lahore resolu-
"tion of division of India and creating Muslim States
"in the North West and Eastern Zones : and it may
"be stated that that ideal has now become the
"universal faith of Muslim India".

Mr. M. A. Jinnah in a letter to the
Private Secretary to H. E. the Viceroy
dated 1st July 1940.

"To divide India into two is worse than anarchy.
"It is vivisection which cannot be tolerated ... I will
"say to them vivisect me before you vivisect India
"You SHALL NOT do what even the Moghals did
"not do."

Gandhiji.

1940.

"The Pakistan scheme is neither a threat nor a
"feeler. We Musalmans, are very earnest about it
"and we will surely have it."

Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung Bahadur
of Hyderabad State.

22nd Sep. 1940.

"The poison of the Communal Award has
"culminated in the enunciation of the Pakistan

PUBLISHER'S NOTE.

As publisher of this "GRAVE DANGER" I feel it my proud privilege to express my deep debt of gratitude to the author who still remains "An Obscure Hindu". I agree with my respected friend Mr. G. V. Ketkar who has kindly accepted my invitation to write the heart-rending introduction when he says in his beautiful language that the "Obscure Hindu" would soon become famous for giving out his well considered views with a warning to the Hindus in their present sad plight.

I wish I had the means to publish this book in very large numbers and make every educated Hindu to go through its pages. That not being the case, I must remain satisfied with what little I could do with the hope that my countrymen, especially the Hindus, would do something to have the book popularised in one form or other and let the "Obscure Hindu" feel that his labours have not gone in vain. I would make a special appeal to the Hindu Princes and the Heads of Hindu Religion, to whatever denomination they may belong, to seriously consider the views expressed by the "Obscure Hindu" regarding their duty to this ancient land of ours.

K. C. B.

INTRODUCTION.

The "Obscure Hindu" is known to me personally and I have found in him an ardent supporter of the new awakening in Hindudom for which Bhai Paramanand and Dr. Moonjee worked and which has found its ablest exponent to day in Savarkar. The "Grave Danger to the Hindus" first appeared as a series of articles in the "Harbinger" of Calicut. The articles attracted attention of all Hindus. They were thought-provoking. Every sane Hindu who is pained by the present plight of Hindus would find in these articles a hope and a plan for the future. When this book reaches the Hindu public, the "Obscure" Hindu writer will remain "obscure" only in name. He will be however known as the "Famous Obscure Hindu". The thoughts would bring forth spontaneous response from Hindus. The book has an assured place in the literature of the present movement of Hindu revival.

The articles are in the nature of direct heart to heart talks to a Hindu. The author first delivered them in the form of lecture to a small group of friends. The form and the language has therefore the directness of a personal talk. Every true Hindu reader will experience the feeling of being transplanted to the circle of friends gathered in a room round the "Obscure Hindu" and listening with absorbing interest his plain talks. The Hindus are beset with difficulties and dangers from all sides. Each political advance seems to increase these difficulties. The inauguration of constitutional reforms

which led the way to the formation of national responsible ministries in the provinces is rightly regarded as a turning point in the history of modern India. And this for two reasons. One is, it marked a forward step in the political evolution of the country; and the other, it brought out for the first time in recent years the conflict in ideals between the Hindus who form the bulk of the nation and the Muslims. Those who were thinking that hundred and fifty years of British rule had taught Muslims to respect rights and privileges of the majority and to live like good neighbours were indeed shocked to find that behind the outward calm a veritable storm was really brewing. The introduction of provincial autonomy based on principles of democracy saw the bursting of the storm of communal rancour and fanaticism. The Muslim community realised, perhaps for the first time in its history, that India was essentially the land of the Hindus and that democracy meant the rule of the majority. In eight out of the eleven provinces ministries were formed without the help and approval of the Muslim League, while in the remaining three provinces where Muslims were in a decided majority, the League could not set up ministries of its own. The whirligig of time had at last brought forth its revenge and those who still dreamed of the forgotten Moghul Empire could not reconcile themselves to the idea of being governed by a democratic majority.

The League driven to corner in the political arena, now discovered a new method of rousing the Muslim masses and of giving them an occasional glimpse of the

vanishing vision. It began to shout that Islam was in danger, that Hindus were trampling under foot the culture and civilization of the Muslims and that the only way in which they could safeguard their precious heritage was by establishing independent Muslim states in the country. The Hindu community was threatened with dire destruction; the kidnapping of Hindu girls, and the molesting of Hindu processions, became the order of the day. India of the Hindus with its sacred culture and civilisation as old as time itself, was to be parcelled out into separate states according to the whim of the Muslim League leaders. The Government of the country watched this new development with unconcern though now and then it did indeed protest after the fashion of the woman in the play, in favour of democracy and communal harmony. This phenomenon was something new to the Hindus who discovered in it a source of grave danger to themselves if left unchallenged, but the most powerful and representative political organisation in the country indulged in the name of national unity, in the thankless task of placating the vociferous Muslim League. Mahatma Gandhi even went to the extent of declaring that the freedom of the country could be achieved only if there was communal harmony and understanding. *Encouraged by declarations of this kind, both by the Congress leaders and by the British Government, the Muslim League found itself in a position to put forward proposals which were calculated to undermine the essential strength of the Hindus and their homeland. The policy of appease-*

ment did not appease, it only whetted the appetite of the clamourers.

Hindus who form the nation in India have every reason to view the recent developments with grave misgivings. They feel that they are confronted with a grave situation because they know fully the dangerous implications of the Muslim demand. India, extending from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, if it is to be as the land of the Hindus, if the culture and civilisation of the Hindus are to be protected and preserved, there should be the realisation on the part of the Hindu population in general of the danger that is threatening them. The language of appeasement has failed to silence the opponent's clamours. He must be spoken to in the language which he best understands. How to do this, how to develop this language is the theme of the timely book 'Grave Danger to the Hindus'—a book which reveals not merely the author's grasp of public affairs but also his ardent love of Hindusthan of the Hindu *Rashtra* and its glorious tradition.

It is doubtful whether the League's absurd and extravagant claims are known to and backed up by the general Muslim population, whose role as far as one's knowledge goes is to act the part of the convenient scapegoat. The acceptance of office by the Congress, the inability of the League to set up ministries of its own even in Muslim majority provinces and the refusal of the Congress to treat with Leaguers and absorb them into its cabinets brought home to the League its inherent weakness. It could not do much to destroy the unity of

the country so long as the Congress was in office but the moment the Congress resigned in a spirit of wounded pride, Mr. Jinnah came out with his deliverance days and Pakistan schemes. The author clearly examined, not without a tinge of humour Mr. Jinnah's claim for the division of India into "separate homelands". As if to substantiate his claims, Mr. Jinnah is reported to have said at Aligarh that :

"the Muslims were only a handful when they first came to India about 800 years ago and established their raj but that their number at present was "nine crores".

Another veteran of the League spoke in the heroic fashion of the conquerors when he gave expression to the view "that if the issue between the Hindus and the Muslims is to be decided by means of the sword, Muslims have no fear". *These leaders seem to forget in their enthusiasm that the history of India had many chapters : that the greatest Muslim Emperor discovered to his utter chagrin and may be for his lasting glory, the futility of force and fervently wooed the Hindus in a variety of ways : that the great Shivaji and his descendants found little difficulty in reducing to nothing in a few years the vast empire built by the Muslims in the course of a long thousand years.* The argument of the sword is not unknown to the Hindus and today if they are peace-loving and unarmed, it is due to a variety of causes not un-understandable even to the Muslims. Hindu nationalism of the militant type is not dead now ; it was only quiescent. It is now gathering fresh impetus. One

wonders at the easy prophecies made by Muslim League leaders :

"That if they continue to organise the Muslim League the day will undoubtedly come when we shall rule over the major part of India even as our ancestors ruled over India in the past".

The history of Muslims in India does indeed justify most admirably some of the claims put forward by the present Leaguers. A century and a half of what is known as benevolent British Rule has not been able to civilise the descendants of the one time conquerors who think even today in terms of that brute force before which fell whatever was good, noble and elevating in this holy land of ours; but it ought to be remembered that the conquerors' descendants need not be conquerors themselves; that it is not every mahout's son who can boast of being immune to pricks on the elephant's back. To be brutal is not to be brave; to be good and generous is not to be coward. Hindu philosophy and Hindu tradition are based on the fundamental principle of mutual love, and the sanctity of life. *If the Hindu does not shout in public, if he does not go about kidnapping other peoples' girls; if he refrains from pulling down mosques and churches, it is not because he is a coward but because he has a philosophy of life and a code of general conduct with the impress of culture and civilization on them.* It is true, as the author rightly points out that our culture and philosophy have made us abhor everything that tends to disturb the natural peace of our earthly existence but it is far from true to conclude from this that we are

a spent force, that we are a pack of cowards who for the sake of safety will surrender everything to the enemy. If India fell a prey to numerous invasions, if she accumbed to a series of conquerors, it was because she could not with her numberless scattered kingdom develop unity in the face of an approaching enemy. Brave, but disunited, she fell but she will not commit the blunder again. The clarion call has gone forth, and the Hindu nation has cast off its slumber. If every Hindu will realise that Hindusthan is for Hindus, and be proud of this country culture and religion the Muslim menace will die as speedily as it cropped up, *The ringing words of Sri Savarkar ought to be our Mantras in our march towards national freedom—"If you come with you : if you do not, without you : if you oppose, inspite of you."* *The Hindus of Hindusthan are not to be coerced into submission by a clamorous and unthinking minority.*

The author, after analysing the causes of the present unrest in the country, goes on to consider the contribution of our Sanyasis and religious heads and also our Hindu princes to the cause of Hindu solidarity. One will perfectly agree with him in all that he says on this subject. Our religious heads, just like our Princes are persons who make much of their rights and privileges without realising that they have corresponding responsibilities to discharge. The heads of our religious Mutts seem to have forgotten the wise example of Swami Vivekananda who lived not in cloistered seclusion but in the midst of men and women, understanding their problems and guiding their lives towards the haven of

peace and contentment. It is a pity that our religious leaders do not realise the truth :

“ Were not my life lit up with the fire of pain
How could it ever give forth incense ? ”

The Hindu Princes too have not been fair to the country which still looks upon them as its essential leaders. It is regrettable that many of them are not so anxious to maintain the Hindu tradition in their States as the Muslim rulers are in theirs. Their indifference or apathy towards things Hindu, their life of pleasure and of ease and their utter disregard of popular well-being are indeed a blot on the Hindu tradition. As the author suggests they can strengthen the Hindu cause if only they will realise their mission in life. Perhaps in these days of democracy, many may not agree with the author when he quotes the words of Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chetty, the Dewan of Cochin, in favour of “ splitting up India into kingdoms and handing them over to the rulers ” but there is something in the suggestion which appeals to the true Hindu and which Hindus in general will do well to ponder over. It is a folly to think that the States are an anachronism. The rulers may not be ideal Kshatriyas but at best, they only call for reformation and not elimination. A regenerated Hindustan will find its Hindu Princes a bulwark of national strength, will find them the upholders of the great national tradition and the great Hindu cause. The learned author's observations on the Princes and their future deserve the respectful attention of all those who

cherish the Hindu cause and dream of a free, regenerated Hindustan.

The author now proceeds to give us as interesting disquisition on Ahimsa as propounded by Ganhiji to day and as is embodied in the Gita. The novel theory of non-violence and truth which is served out to us to day has in the opinion of the author nothing in common with the "manly self assertive Ahimsa which Lord Krishna commended to the acceptance of the doubting Partha". Our religion is not an effete religion. It has withstood the challenge of many religions without swerving from its ideals. The sinister methods of the Christian missionary, and the gleaming sword of the fanatic Mussalman have not been able to weaken its hold on the masses in any tangible manner. Hindus did indeed acquiesce in political submission; but Hindus always held aloft its banner and imperceptibly exercised its civilizing influence on the numerous hordes which poured on this country through the ages. With a living dynamic religion and a civilization which surpasses every other in regard to comprehensiveness and purity Hindus have no reason to despair of their future. What is wanted today is "the revival of the Gita spirit in the country". There is no better method of carrying on the regeneration of the country, no surer method of regaining that militant manliness which is so essential not merely for our continued existence as a nation, but also for the honour and glory of Bharata Varsha.

The concluding portions of the book are devoted to a consideration of India's unity, her economic and social

problems and lastly to the position of Hindu women in society. The author's views are worth our study. That Hindus and Hindustan are confronted with a grave menace, no thinking man will for a moment doubt. How to avert the danger is the problem which ought to exercise the mind of all Hindus who believe in the greatness of their heritage. The author says that we should develop the religion of patriotism, that we should establish Bharata Mata Bhajana Mandirs all over the country and worship Mother India as we worship our other deities.

"It is not till the Motherland reveals herself to
 "the eye of the mind as something more than a
 "stretch of earth or a mass of individuals it is not till
 "she takes shape as a great divine and maternal
 "Power in a form of beauty that can dominate the
 "mind and seize the heart, that these petty fears and
 "hopes vanish in the all-absorbing passion of our
 "Mother and her services and the patriotism that
 "works miracles and saves doomed nation is born.
 "Once that vision has come to a people, there can be
 "no rest, no peace no further slumber till the temple
 "has been made ready, the image installed, and the
 "sacrifice offered. A great nation which has that
 "vision can never again be placed under the feet of
 "the conqueror".

(Arobindo Ghose).

I believe—on the evidence of this interesting and inspiring book—that we are developing that vision, that the searching of heart has begun among us and that

we will be able to subdue the inconvenient shouts of Pakistan mongers and assert our national individuality in an unmistakable manner.

Mr. Obscure Hindu has laid the Hindus of the country under a deep debt of gratitude to him. He has shown them with malice to none and with no attempt to twist facts, the present plight of Hindustan and of the Hindus and has placed before them certain valuable suggestions for their regeneration. It is my belief that this book will find its way into every Hindu household in India.

Poona,
15-8-'40.

G. V. KETKAR,
Editor "Mahratta",
General Secretary,
Hindu Mahasabha.

OCULAR PROOF

BY "AN OBSCURE HINDU."

I request my readers to carefully study the map—the visible embodiment of "Pakisthan" or 'two Nations' of the Muslim League—and thus realize the Grave Danger to the Hindus, who love and worship this most ancient Country of this World, as their sacred Motherland, Fatherland and Spiritual land.

A study of the map will show that if this *blackening* of our Motherland by the Muslim League is allowed to take place, then the Hindus as a race, as a people, as a Nation, with all their sacred Vedas, Religious books, Temples and with all and everything that they hold sacred and honourable will become extinct from this world. This ancient race of India, which has been continuously living for many many millenniums before the holy Prophet Mahomed was born in Arabia, will disappear without even leaving any trace of its existence like the Lamurians and Assyrians of old.

The map is so cleverly schemed that three out of five ports of India—Calcutta, Madras and Karachi—are handed over to the mailed fists of the Muslims. The Hindus must indeed be thankful to the Muslim League for the generous mercy shown to them in leaving them two ports—Cochin and Bombay—as their outlet into the seas! But a Bird whispers to me that this is only a temporary mercy shown to the Hindus. Did not the "Tiger" Prime Minister of Bengal state that Kerala forms part and parcel of Arabia? Then certainly Cochin is

within Arabia ! What rights the Hindus have over a port of Arabia ? Did not Tippu Sultan rule over Mysore ? Is not Bombay a convenient port to Tippu's State and also to the sacred places of desert Arabia ? Is not Mr. M. A. Jinnah living at "Kerala" Hill elevating the name of Bombay ? Hence Bombay also, as a matter of right, belongs to the Muslims !

To add to this blockade of this ancient land from the seas, the map throws at our face a blockade of all land routes by Muslims on the North-West and North-East of our land. I request my readers to look at a map of Asia and note the continuous chain of Muslim countries from our North-Western borders to the coasts of the Black Sea. Let them think for a while the possibility of these countries joining against the Hindus in a *jihad*, egged on by the Pakistanists of North-Western India. Then they will realise the catastrophe that may fall on every Hindu home in India. I am aware that these countries have not shown any inclination to such a combination *at present*. But this possibility is sure to become a certainty, if North-Western Pakistan in our land fructifies into a reality. We must remember that these chain of Muslim countries are not allowed to expand into Europe. Hence an invitation from the Indian Pakistanists is sure and certain to rouse the cupidity even of the best amongst them.

With this point clearly fixed in their minds, let my readers look again at the Pakistan map. They will find that our Motherland is divided into eleven Hindu parts. Let the wisemen, who are for separation of

Tamil Nadu from the rest of India, note that a Muslim Corridor separates them from the Andhra country and visualise the cataclysm that will surely fall on Tamil Nadu if their policy of ISOLATION from the rest of the Hindus were to become a fact. The plan shows clearly that it is an attempt to *Balkanise* this ancient race of Hindus in their own Motherland, with all its manifold disastrous results, while at the same time it consolidates and concentrates the Muslims at the vital portions of India Viz. north-west, north-east and in the centre with Muslim Cantonments at Junagadh, Bhopal, Jaora, Tonk and Ajmer; with full control over three important ports including the aerodrome of Karachi, with the possibility of it being handed over to Afghanistan as that country is in much need of a port. Then let my readers remember the words of the leader of the Khaksars: "to establish hegemony over the world, to become rulers once again and to conquer the universe is our Religion, our will and our ideal".

It is crystal clear that this ideal of hegemony over the world cannot be reached before conquering and subduing the "Kafirs" near them in Barathavarsha. They MUST safeguard their *bases* before they triumphantly march on the world to conquer it. Hence the Pakistanists will and must march simultaneously from the east, west and centre and fall upon the Hindus in the Gangetic Plains, with the sword in one hand and the Quoran in the other hand, giving the Hindus the Muslim's "choice". If they succeed in *blackening* our Motherland north of Hyderabad, then their plan is to

march southwards up to Kanyakumari, welcomed and supported by the FIFTH COLUMN amongst the Hindus in Tamil Nadu, and thus *blacken* the rest of our Motherland also. This Danger is marching on us slowly but steadily and we will be overcome completely by it if we do not wake up from our foolish slumber and gird up our loins, not with the idea of aggression but purely in stern self defence and in the honour of our Motherland.

In view of this Danger, I request every Hindu to place himself in the position of the father of Hannibal and stand before the sacred *Agni* and demand from his son or male heir a most solemn oath, and simultaneously take the oath himself that as long as life lasts this dismemberment of our Motherland will not be allowed to take place. Certainly it is a noble cause to sacrifice, if necessary, our lives. We shall unhesitatingly treat every one, be he Hindu, Muslim or English, who works, dreams or desires for this outrageous slaughter of our Motherland, as our most hated enemies. Let every hamlet, every village, every town and every city in our Motherland become a field of *Kurukshetra* and let us once again stand on the sacred field, with Justice, Righteousness, Dharma and intense Love and Reverence for our Motherland as our weapons, with Sree Krishna as our guide. I am absolutely certain that no true Hindu will ever be nervous about the result.

I should have liked to say a word of warning in all sincerity to those worthy members of the fraternity of John Bull, who are inclined to encourage the Muslim League in its Pakistan scheme in the hope that such

divisions will help them to prolong their clutches on our Bharatha Matha, that they are only digging their own graves. Let them calmly think and realise whether their interests of every sort will be safer in the hands of the mild and tolerant Hindus or in the hands of the fanatical Muslim Leaguers dreaming of Pan Islamism on the foot steps of a Pakisthan. Lord Curzon once said that: "Without India the British Empire could not exist". If Pakisthan comes into existence, where will India be? If there is NO INDIA then there is NO BRITISH EMPIRE, I chime with Curzon.

That India can be within the British Empire only when the millions of patient Hindus are the friends of the Britishers is a truism. Surely the policy of encouraging the minorities to oppose the Hindus, raising them to the position of vetoing the interests and will of the vast majority of the Hindus, and neglecting the sentiment of the Hindus towards their Baratha Matha, their ancient spiritual land, are not the best ways of retaining the Hindus as the friends of Britain. At present most of the Hindus are for the retention of British friendship and connection though not their overlordship; but if the present policy of Britain were to continue, then the Hindus will have good cause to revise their attitude towards Britain. Hence I would earnestly request every Britisher to think on this subject without prejudice and with IMAGINATION. For want of it the Britishers lost the United States; for want of it they did not find out and realise the amazing preparations which Herr Hitler, though surrounded on all sides by his enemies,

had been making for over seven years : for want of it they did not give us military training : and for want of it they have not yet realised the Danger of a Pakisthan to the "Brightest Jewel of the British Empire".

The writer in the *Illustrated Weekly* says of this Pakisthan that ;

"You may smile at its swagger, even deride its trumpeting You may call it a political marionette "moving to the play of skilful hands. But you "cannot ignore it. For good or ill, Pakisthan which "embodies the spirit of partition, has found a "spiritual home".

"For good"? A million times NO. "For ill"? Who will ever doubt it even for a moment? "Spiritual home"? NEVER. Not until every Hindu is annihilated every nook and corner of this wide world.

HINDUS' What is your answer? What is your remedy? That was the theme of my talk to my small circle of friends. You may agree or differ. Read and decide.

Strikrishnajanathi }
 night }
 11-52 P. M. }
 1940 }

AN OBSCURE HINDU.

WORLD BOOK CENTRE
 39,5, SHAKTI NAGAR,
 DELHI

Grave Danger to the Hindus.

CHAPTER I.

Brothers of Hindusthan,

My first and foremost duty is not to thank you for asking me to address this select, earnest and compact audience, but to request you all and every other Hindu, who resides in and outside our sacred Barathavarsha to think about the deplorable position of our Motherland.

Our Glorious Past.

There has been no other country, either in the ancient or modern world, which is as large as our country, with a huge homogenous population, living in a compact area, with naturally well guarded boundaries, wherein nature has lavishly endowed all that is necessary for the human and animal kingdoms, and yet which has been so subject to a never ending invasion and domination for over 1000 years. The very temptation in the hearts of outsiders to invade our country, shows that we were a great, prosperous, wealthy and civilized nation. Such a country could not have been created by men and women, who were cowards, weak and unpatriotic. Further ours is the only country, which has survived from the old world, with a continuous living religion and civilization. While all other ancient countries like Egypt, Greece, Rome and Assyria have lost their great civilizations and religions, ours is the only country, which has survived the onslaughts of invading brutes, robbers, dacoits, murderers and exploiters, who have again and again entered our land polluting its sacred soil with their dirty feet, and impure breath. (Cheers).

Our Fallen State.

Even Holland and Belgium*—all honour to them—which are no larger than a few taluks of our country, are independent, though situated amidst avaricious and rapacious nations, who watch them like wolves. While our country, with such a hoary civilization, with its wonderful stamina not to succumb to foreign civilization, and even though she had given birth to great men and women, whose lives can stand comparison with the noblest of human beings of other lands, has been subject to the domination of invading foreigners for over 1000 years. Even now it does not appear that we will get our freedom in the present generation unless all the Hindus with one mind work for our freedom, *taking steps to retain our freedom after obtaining it from our present rulers.*

Our Consolation.

Of course, history points out, as if 'to console a great nation like that of ours, that we have not been alone in this predicament. Even the British nation, which rules us at present, was at one time ruled by the Roman and the Dane. The only difference between our position and theirs is, while other nations did not allow the foreign domination to last for more than a century or two, we have been, to our utter disgrace, allowing some foreigner or other to dominate us for over 1000 years. Our subjection is such that we cannot even by imagination think that we were ever independent of foreign control.

* This address was delivered before Herr Hitler invaded these unfortunate countries.

Yet, during the times of Emperors, Asoka and Harshavardhana, we were as independent as our rulers are in their own lands. Nay, our boundaries were once beyond the Hindukush Mountains in the West and far beyond the Eastern borders of Burmah. To extend the boundary to its original position, at least in the west, the Britisher will do anything, if he can only be sure of snatching back that line; but it is unattainable, in spite of all the might of the British Empire. Yet our Emperor Asoka had ruled that portion of the country at a time, when the ancestors of our rulers were perhaps jumping from tree to tree! (Laughter). It is no exaggeration if I state that since our ancestors were independent, we also can become independent, provided we unite and find out the reasons why we are in this position.

Confused Ideas about Minorities.

When I say that we should regain the freedom of our country, I do not even imagine that we want it for the oppression of the so-called minorities, who have come into existence in our land. We will not gain anything by such an oppression, apart from the fact that it is not in our nature to oppress any one. Let the minorities read our ancient history and find out whether we have ever oppressed any minority. On the other hand, we have always opened our shores to those persons, who are oppressed and driven away from their countries, such as the purest of Israelites and Zoroastrians. We have no doubt ruined ourselves by our oppression of our Harijans; but that oppression is not the oppression of

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a minority but the oppression of ourselves in the process of our suicide, and thus allowing foreign domination to enter our land, one after another.

The minorities' question is made to loom large in our country and it looks as if we must submit to every demand of the minorities and lose our legal, lawful and patent fact of a majority before our brethren will be satisfied. Hence, I should like to point out that international law does not recognise any minority, which is less than 20% of the population. Judging with this standard there are no minorities in India. I would only remind the so-called minorities that, however much they may try to think that they came to rule India and that they belong to the religion of the rulers, the original ancestors of most of them were Hindus. Whether they acknowledge it or not, a fact is a fact. Foreign countries, barring our rulers, do not acknowledge any one except a Hindu as the son of Hindusthan. In America whether an Indian is a Hindu, Muslim or a Christian, he is only a Hindu to them.

Correct Perspective.

We also consider the minorities as one of us and if we ever oppress them, we will be only oppressing ourselves and this will pave our own ruin. Hence even self-interest will make us not to oppress them. *But it is quite a different aspect altogether, when the minorities say that they should ask us to recognise them as a minority and yet allow them to rule over us. There is a contradiction in terms.* We are quite tired of the terrorism practised by

certain minorities in India over us. They fondly hope that they can rule over us as a ruling class, not as people of Hindusthan, but as persons who came to conquer India. (Cries of never, never) I think the time has come to tell them plainly that we are not frightened at the question of minorities. We are not going to lose our position and privileges of a majority for the sake of pleasing them. They must remember that majorities also have rights and privileges. This simple aspect is often forgotten not only by the so-called minorities but also by some of our leaders, who are out for unity with the Muslims at all costs. We have found from experience that the more we yield, more their demands grow. Hence we can never satisfy them and we need only act justly and fairly, pleasing none, except our conscience and our Maker.

The Christians:

However, let us analyse the problems of the so-called minorities in India. As far as the Christians are concerned, I think there is no difficulty whatsoever. They were once thinking that they belonged to the religion of the Rulers and hence they had some special privileges. Fortunately, these ideas are gone from their minds and they are now marching shoulder to shoulder with us feeling that they are Indians first. They do not look with wistful eyes beyond the borders hoping that one day some other people of their Religion will come over to the land to help them to rule over the majority. They do not dream of welcoming such foreigners. They have

never said that the majority obstructs them in their Religious rights. The fact that they are increasing in population clearly proves that the majority amongst whom they are living are not oppressing them in any way. They know that we look upon them as *Christian-Hindus*, just as there are *Vaishnavite-Hindus* and *Saivite-Hindus*.

In 1911 census the Indian Christians were : 2,192,281

1921	2,753,300
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1931	3,321,745
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Would a majority of Muslims have allowed them to increase in such numbers? A casual look over Muslim countries is quite sufficient to get a correct answer. Of course in such a large country there will be black sheep even amongst Christians, who will talk that they are oppressed and the foreigners should still rule over the country to protect them.

Christian Testimony.

But we are satisfied and grateful to an authoritative statement made by Mr. H. C. Mukerjee, the President of the All India Conference of Indian Christians at Nagpur during Christmas of last year. Referring to the treatment meted out to Christians by the representatives of the "General Constituency" — i. e. We the Hindus — he said as follows :—

"I have not, up to the present, received any kind
 "of report from any quarter that these non-Chris-
 "tian Representatives are sacrificing the interests
 "of their Indian Christian supporters in favour of
 "their numerically stronger non-Christian sup-

“porters. The absence of such reports has been a source of a very great gratification to me, for it has proved beyond the slight shadow of doubt that at least we, as a community have developed a capacity to trust our brothers in blood from whom we differ only in the matter of professing and practising a different faith and that our attitude has been more than justified by actual experience.”

I want you to mark the words “our brothers in blood”. These words should be written in letters of gold. If the other minorities will only feel as the Christians feel, then the problem of minorities will vanish in no time. I think that it is a crime that Britishers should keep such a community away from us by giving them separate electorate. Let us hope that a time will soon come when we can take back our ‘brothers in blood’ into our own constituency.

Anglo Indians.

As far as Anglo Indians are concerned, I would only say that their previous fond ideas that they formed part and parcel of the Rulers and that they belonged to the ruling “caste” are slowly disappearing. They are now realising that they are Indians and that their destiny is tied down with India’s future. They are being treated as the warrior caste and this should be done more and more increasingly. By this I do not even insinuate that they are to be barred from other services. I only state that we will respect them as Kshatriyas. That will solve their problem to a very great extent.

The Hindu Minorities.

I do not consider the Parsis and Sikhs as different from us. They are part of the majority community. Just as we will not allow any of the sects of Hinduism to be oppressed, in the same way we must do our best to help these so-called minorities and should see that no injustice is done to them.

CHAPTER II.

The Muslims.

From the patriotic, noble and sensible attitude of the Indian Christians when we turn towards the Indian Muslims — I use the word Indian before the word Muslims with apologies to all the Muslim Leaguers, who have forgotten this prefix—I feel a great sadness coming over me, mingled with anger and fear. *Sadness* that, there can be in the 20th century a group of human beings in our Motherland, who do not show that great love, that great virtue, which has roused the noblest actions of human beings at all times towards the land, which gave them birth; *Anger* not at them but at the majority community, which has blindly allowed such a mentality to come into existence in the Muslim community, which always looks beyond the borders, like the Sudetan Germans, screening their eyes to see whether an invader of their own Religion is turning his face, even at a distance, towards our Motherland. *Fear* at the fact that on account of various reasons, such as the suspicion of our Rulers towards us, their knowledge that the Muslims do not

show that love of the land as the Hindus do towards Barathavarsha, which has induced the Rulers to treat the Muslims as the "favourite wife" and the creation of the bogey that the Muslims are the only "fighters" in our land, forgetting conveniently that the Indian army is made up of two-thirds of Sikhs and Hindus and only one-third of Muslims and by perpetuating this bogey by always recruiting from certain provinces and disarming the greater part of India, that we are at present NOT in a position to defend our Motherland. Englishmen often say that once they leave the land, immediately there will be invasions from Khaibar and other passes through Punjab and Sind and that not a Virgin will be left in India and that the whole of our land will be devastated. I have seen many Muslims receiving such a statement with great pleasure, without realizing that such a remark is not at all complimentary to their own self-respect. Is it a noble qualification of a set of human beings to be dubbed cruel and brutal, that defenceless women are not safe at their hands and that they will join the enemies of their land, just because the enemies profess a religion, which is also theirs?

Islam and Force.

No doubt that of all Religions in this world, the Religion of Muslims has stood more on force than on anything else. One English writer calls it a "Religion of the sword" and another a "pantheism of force". An enthusiastic Arab Philosopher, Al-Kindy says "Mahomed alone of all founders of Religion, without appealing to any miracle or fulfilled philosophy as

“a proof of his divine mission, proclaimed to the nations of the world that whoever did not accept him as a Prophet and the Apostle of God, the same should be slain, his goods seized and his women and children carried into captivity”.

We have realised, with bitterness from the various invasions and the present day kidnapping on the frontiers and in the provinces where the Muslims are in a majority and from the dastardly and cowardly massacres at Malabar, Kohat and Sukkur that the Muslims believe only in force and nothing else. We find that wherever they went from Egypt to Afghanistan, they have ruined other civilizations and only in India their onward march was curbed.

In spite of 600 years of the Muslim Rule in India they were not able to convert to Mahammadanism, with the sword in one hand and the Holy Quoran, on the other hand the whole of India. But look at Afghanistan, Persia, Iraq, Arabia and Egypt! Their previous Religions have become extinct but our Vedantic Religion still shines high in our India. This alone must make the Muslim and the Britisher realise that the Hindus have not been universally cowards. They should not think that just because the Hindu does not take the sword and stab the next man he meets with, when he gets agitated, he is not a brave man. Unfortunately we have an upbringing and a philosophy, which make us not to become inhuman and not to degrade our souls by being brutal and callous of other people's lives and properties. We refuse to lower ourselves,

even in self defence and retaliation, to the law of the jungle. (Cheers). Christians and Muslims often talk with contempt about our Religious ideas and call us idolaters, infidels, kafirs and heathens. I think that we would prefer to be all these instead of becoming inhuman devils like the Western Nations, which throw bombs on defenceless cities, torpedo passenger ships, live ever in fear of air raids, instead of enjoying the beauty of the stars and the moon (Cheers). We prefer to be called "mild Hindus" instead of becoming the followers of the Prophet Mahomed, with the idea of either converting all those, whom they can force, or putting them to the sword. They may succeed in harming defenceless Hindus, just as the Muslims did of some of their Khaliffs and even the grandsons of their Holy Prophet, but it is better for them to realise that they cannot conquer again India or divide it. With so much innocent blood on the head of the followers of the Prophet Mahomed, many Indian Muslims say that Islam means PEACE! If the history of Muslims, not only in India but also outside India, shows Peace, and that this is Peace then the meaning of Peace should be changed in all the dictionaries of the King's language! The Prophet Mahomed allowed force and took to force in a brutal age but his followers have only understood the force, which the Prophet used and not his other teachings. Unfortunately our brethren in India particularly remember more about the forcible actions of the Prophet than about other actions, even though they are in the 20th century.

John Bull's narrow vision.

Hence the Britisher thinks that the Muslim is a "fighter." The English, who are only accustomed to force in their civilization respect the Muslims better than the Hindus and often laugh at our weakness. But I should like to remind the English that they have ruled us for over 150 years and if we are at present in a weak and defenceless position it is not at all creditable to them. Herr Hitler within 10 years has raised the Germans to be a great Nation. The combined powers of the two great Empires of England and France backed by the moral force of the world have not been able to make headway against them, even after several months of war. If the English had the imagination they would have trained us also in the same way and then Hitler would have thought 1000 times before provoking England. But it is a known fact that though John Bull is an honest man, as political honesty goes amongst Western Nations and as per their standard of honesty when the matter concerns an Eastern Nation, he is not at all an imaginative man (laughter). For want of imagination he lost the United States of America and for want of imagination he did not give us military training. The fact that we are weak therefore is no disgrace to us but it is the greatest *black mark* on the British. It is rather unfair that they should taunt us at our inability to defend our frontiers when they never gave us an opportunity to do so. It is just like the slave owner of old, taunting his slave for not being free! This aunt of the Englishman has had an evil influence over

our Muslim brethren. Apart from other reasons this is one of the reasons why the Muslim League has begun to state that the Muslims are a separate "Nation" within the borders of our sacred land! I, as many of you know, was a staunch believer of Hindu-Muslim unity. Now I have lost faith in it, as I have been closely following the activities of the Muslim League, especially of its leader Mr. Jinnah.

Muslims outside India are Patriots.

It is a great pity that while all the Muslims in this world are proud of their countries and their ancient History, even though that history was not the history of Mahommadanism, only our brethren, the Indian Muslims, do not show that love to the land of their birth. Ask an Egyptian whether he is not proud of the Pyramids and the mummies of his land. The answer will be an emphatic "Yes". Will the Egyptians, Turks, Persians or Afghans allow any of the other to rule over them? Certainly not. Are not Muslim Persia proud of Shorub & Rustum? Are our Muslims proud of Indian Heroes of old? The Prophet Mahomed was born in Arabia and hence according to the mentality of the Indian Muslims it will be a great religious act to allow the Arab to rule over the whole of the Muslim world! If I were to say this to any other Muslim beyond India, I feel sure, that he would take it as a great insult. But it is regrettable that the Muslim Leaguer is ready to hand over the country to foreign Muslims just because the other is a Muslim. It is this knowledge, which makes the Britisher to say that once they leave India, the

Muslims will be up against our throats. Is such a notion wrong? Am I doing an injustice to my Muslim brethren of the League variety, who only are vocal in these days? Any one, who has followed the various proposals of the Muslims to divide India basing every one of their ideas on the *Pakistan scheme*, will realise that this dangerous mentality is not only harmful to the Hindus but also to the Muslims themselves. Let these Indian Muslims go to Muslim countries outside India and try to settle there and earn a living; then they will bitterly realise that the other Muslims treat them only as Indians, who are slaves to a foreign Ruler.

Muslims, a Separate Nation?

Of all the tall talk and bunkum of the Muslim Leaguers, this idiotic idea that they are a separate 'Nation' and that every Muslim, wherever he lives in this vast country carries with him his 'nationhood' is the most Donquixotic. Let us look at this lunacy with a little calm mind. If they are a Nation then they must have a separate police, judiciary and legislatures and of course they must have separate rulers to govern them to make them realise that they are not as incapable of being independent of the English as we are at present! Every Muslim Leaguer imagines that their brethren on the North Western Frontier are over ready to help them in putting down the Kafirs once the British withdraw from the scene. Even assuming that the Rulers of Afghanistan and Persia are ready to help their 'brethren' in India, is it possible for these two countries to give a Nationhood to every Muslim, who lives in

various corners of India ? Is it possible for the various sects of Muslims, who live in our country, speaking various languages to shift to one place and live together? Will the Moplahs of Malabar and the Rowthers of South India be at home with the Northern Indian Muslim, when they are shifted bag and baggage from their original homes to the North or even to the Hyderabad State ? Is it a practical proposition to induce these persons to leave off their properties, their trade and their professions and then go to another place and start life anew ? Will the Bengali Muslims be at home when a million of Bengalis, not to speak of other millions, are transported to the North Western Frontier Province, Punjab or Sind ? The Muslim Leaguers answer by saying that they will have different "zones". One zone from the Eastern borders of Punjab extending to the borders of Afghanistan and covering the whole of Sind including Karachi so that they may give the much needed outlet into the sea to the Afghan Ruler !

Different Zones ?

The Muslims take many things for granted. They think that the Sikhs and Hindus of the Punjab will calmly, like dumb ridden cattle, allow such a thing to come to a realization. They take it for granted that the Amir of Afghanistan will be quite willing to join with them and that the chain of Muslim countries will be only too glad to create a Pakisthan. If the Muslims can create without any hindrance a Pakisthan in the 20th century then what about the greed of the great Russian Bear, which has swallowed its neighbour's best lands by

an unjust war in Finland? Is not that Bear on the borders of the Muslim countries? Then, are we to understand that the various Muslim countries from the Black Sea to the Panjab are all working like one country? Have these countries come to have any unity? Will not one country take advantage of the other country's difficulties when the time comes? Persia is ruled by a sect of Shias while Afghanistan by the Sunnies. There is as much difference between these two sects as between the Hindus and Muslims of India. First of all let us see whether the Muslim countries join in a federation before our brethren, the Indian Muslims, talk of joining with a federation of Muslim countries. Let the Mad Mullahs of the Pakisthan idea bring about a Federation of this kind before they talk of a federation of Indian Muslims, with a foreign Muslim Federation, which does not exist, except in the cerebral superheated imagination of certain Indian Muslims (Cheers).

Bengasam?

Then these "Muslims of Separate Independent Nation" talk of a Zone with the best part of Bengal and Assam. Of course they leave out of account the vast number of Hindus who inhabit these parts, and who are 48%. Can a Muslim Zone be safe with a hostile Hindu "Nation" and a more hostile Buddhist Burmah Nation on its eastern borders? This lunacy reaches its culminating point when it is suggested in all seriousness that the Hyderabad State with its 92% Hindu population should be made into "a Muslim State" with a corridor to the Bay of Bengal as the Muslims are said to be a

maritime people. They expect the 90% Hindus to sit silent when the Muslims create a Muslim State in the midst of Hindus ! Those Muslims who talk of a Pakistan, different zones and "autonomous independent States" imagine that the Hindus and other sections of Indians will shift from one place to another to please the Muslims !

The State Muslims.

This raises another question. What is to become of the vast number of Muslims, who live in various States in India scattered from their "National" group ? If they are a "Nation" in these States also, then they cannot and should not allow their dignity to be wounded by being ruled by any Hindu Ruler ! So these mad Mullahs must expect to create a Nation in each one of the States ! How are they all to be made into "the Great Muslim Nation" to quote the words of Mr. Jinnah ? The Nawab Shah Nawas Khan in his address as the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the League's Conference at Lahore said that :—

"The Muslims could never tolerate the idea that they should live in subjection to a community, which had no common ground with them as regards religion, culture and civilization."

Out of the various Provinces into which India is divided at least in Six Provinces, the Hindus are in an overwhelming majority and if the majorities are to rule in Democratic systems of Government, the Muslims *must* be a minority and can only have a minority's interests and rights and not more than that.

Then in about 600 Indian States the Muslims are in a minority and are being ruled by Hindu Rulers. The Indian Muslims in British India and the Indian Muslims in these Hindu State have tolerated the rule of the other, who is different from them in 'religion, culture and civilization'. For the last 150 years all these Muslims have tolerated the rule of the Englishman, who certainly does not come under the attributes given by the Nawab. I feel sure that these Muslims, who have tolerated such a foreigner to rule over them will not fail to tolerate the Rule of the Hindus also! If the Muslim Leaguers think that they cannot tolerate the rule of the majority in the country then the safest thing for them to do is to migrate to Arabia, where being near the sacred places of their Religion they can enjoy their separate existence safely. Let them try it. (Laughter).

The Muslim Masses.

One need only think about the idea of a separate Nation of Muslims in India to reject it as an impossible and impractical chimera of certain Muslims. When an intelligent leader like Mr. Jinnah enunciates such a proposition, many feel that there must be something practical about it. It is merely to show the absurdity of this idea, I am taking so much of your time. It is asked why does such a great leader trot out this question of a separate Nation? The reason is that only on such sentimental points, like a separate nation, Religion in Danger, Music before Mosques, the Muslim masses can be roused into frenzy and not by any other means. Of all the religious groups in India, only the Indian

Muslims can be carried off their feet on the false cry of Religion in Danger. They only get agitated when they are misguided that a certain remark, certain picture or certain saying of another have wounded and attacked their Religion and their Prophet. To them only go the credit of the greatest numbers of murders in India in the name of Religion. Swami Shradhananda, Rajpal, Maharaj Nathuram, the Anglo-Indian lady of Bhopal and various others tell the tale of this weak mentality of Muslims of losing their hold on themselves. Lord Jesus has been abused and criticised times without number by Christian free thinkers and by non-Christians but no Christian in the 20th century takes the sword and stabs the critic. We have had innumerable vile accusers of our religion and yet we do not loose our hold on ourselves and take to force and cause harm to defenceless persons. In fact our ethics of war say that we should never attack an unarmed man. If the opponent loses his weapon time should be given till he is able to get another weapon. The Prime Minister Allabux definitely asserted that the League was responsible for Sukkur murders. This also proves my point.

Policy of the League.

The Muslim League has absolutely no practical policy of either of politics or economics or social. The Muslim masses are as ignorant and poor as the Hindu masses. You look in vain in the proceedings of the league meetings for a programme of work for the wholesale benefit of people at large. They wax eloquent over jobs in season and out of season. Most of those,

who guide the Muslim League are money bags and titled Knights. A number of them look more to their folds in their trousers than to the torn rags worn by the masses. On the other hand the economic policy of the Congress makes a great effort to raise the status of the masses without distinction of caste, creed or religion. While the League unabashingly imitates the Congress in all its methods, such as hoisting flags, holding Conferences, having working committees, passing resolutions, it never comes to grip with practical problems. Once it begins to do so, these Knights with pleasurable living will have to come down from their pedestal, just like the Congress workers of the High Command and the Ministries, which they will never do.

Whatever the differences which many Hindus may have with the Congress workers, one cannot but admire the sacrificing spirit and the forgetting of the self in them at the loving orders of Gandhiji. If you compare the leaders of the League's high command and those of the Congress, you will immediately see the difference. Involuntarily you will rise from your seat when you meet a member of the Congress High Command or any one of those, who are working with Gandhiji, whether he be a Hindu, Muslim, Christian or Parsi. It is because you will find in him a spirit of noble sacrifice, which you and I have not in us. But I am sorry I cannot at all say this of the League Leaders. You will always find that the League waiting for a move from the Congress and then it shapes its move. It will always hold its session and its working committee meetings after the

Congress, so that it may know what the Congress does and then shape its course. This only proves that it has no positive policy but only a negative and an obstructive one.

The Muslim League's Tactics.

Hence for their bankruptcy in statesmanship and bold and practical programmes, which will help the country at large, they want to bolster up a false cry that the Muslims are in danger and that their Religion, culture and civilization can only be saved by dividing our Motherland. It is most amusing to find the League taking the credit to itself for the shelving temporarily the Federation Scheme by the Government of India. You could not have forgotten the frantic efforts, which Mr. Jinnah was making by various speeches and statements to directly draw out Gandhiji from his silence about Federation. Why did he do so? Because he wanted Gandhiji's support for it. It was the power of the Congress, which was greatly responsible for the shelving of the Federation. The immediate cause, as you all know, is the War. If any one can solely take the credit to the shelving of the Federation in India, I think, we must all give the foremost credit to our "friend" Herr Hitler (laughter). It may be that Herr Hitler never intended it; yet we are beholden to him for this benefit, if that is a benefit. It is as plain as I am speaking to you in this quiet place.

I am Great !

Yet what does the League's great leader say about

it? When interviewed on his birthday last year, Mr. Jinnah said :—

"The greatest day in my life was when I heard that the Federation scheme was suspended and a still greater moment will be when it is definitely buried".

From this remark you will find that Mr. Jinnah gives himself a self complacent credit for this result for which he is not at all responsible. If you will pardon me, I should like to be a little egoistic. Finding that Mr. Jinnah was becoming more and more over-bearing and abusive of the Hindus and realising that it was the noble blunder of Gandhiji going over to Mr. Jinnah's house twice to talk about communal settlement, that gave the greatest honour to Mr. Jinnah. [Reuter sent it over the wires to the whole world and the world woke up and asked who is this man, Mr. Jinnah, to whose house the greatest man of the world, Mahatma Gandhi, went twice? Mr. Jinnah woke up and found himself a great man to his great surprise. (Laughter)] and that if Pandit Jawaharlal also goes again to his house, the dishonour of the Hindus will be complete, I wrote an appealing letter to the Pandit, requesting him not to go to Mr. Jinnah's house. This was full 11 days before Mr. Jinnah made that Deliverance Day statement. Pandit Nehru, though he went to Bombay, did not meet Mr. Jinnah to my great joy.

Pandit Nehru's Great Oath.

The Pandit said in soul stirring words :

"I would have to repudiate all my past, my

“nationalism, and my self respect, if I were to
“resume the talks with Mr. Jinnah in the face of
“his appeal to Muslims to observe the Day of
“Deliverance to repeat the unproved allegations
“against the Congress. If I were to open discussion
“with Mr. Jinnah in the face of these baseless
“allegations, the courses open to me are either to
“retire from politics, and go to the Himalayas as a
“Sanyasi or go out of India to a foreign land for
“good, never to come back or commit suicide. I
“would do none of these three things even if ordered
“by Mahatma Gandhi, our great Leader”.

Oh! Friends. Words fail me to describe the joy,
the overwhelming joy that came over me when I read in
the papers these words. I actually jumped with joy
Then I said to myself :

“This is the greatest day in my life. The self
“willed, idealistic and spoilt child of our Motherland
“has acted up to my advice. I am a great man ! I
“will become a greater man, the day on which I hear
“that the Congress leaders say that they will have
“nothing to do with Mr. Jinnah's League”. (Loud
laughter).

Why are you laughing. Did not my letter reach
the Pandit long before he decided not to meet Mr.
Jinnah ? Well, friends, Mr. Jinnah can take as much
credit to the shelving of the Federation as I, for
preventing the Pandit from meeting Mr. Jinnah !

The Logic of the League.

Yet the League's Conference at Lahore took great

credit to itself for the shelving of the Federation! It is merely an attempt to deceive the masses that the League has done something for the Muslims. Wherever Mr. Jinnah went many young and old Muslims began to question him "what has the League done?" Except saying that they are protesting against the Bandhe-Matharam song, Vidya Mandir Scheme, the League could not say anything. Do you think that the singing of a song, or naming a school as Mandir is going to harm the Muslims and their Religion? Do you mean to say that Mr. Jinnah does not know that the Muslims will not be harmed by a hair's breadth by such trivial things? Yet he pretended to take serious notice of these things with a view to placate the masses. There is another claim, which Mr. Jinnah has taken to himself. He said at Aligarh that:—

"Never before as now had the leader of the Muslim League been invited by the Viceroy to consult along with Mr. Gandhi. That was a clear proof of the growing strength of the League".

Hence every one of these 52 persons whom the Viceroy consulted can console themselves that their invitation was due to the growing strength of their particular community! It would have been better if Mr. Jinnah had said that it was clear proof of the growing strength of all those personalities, who were consulted by the Viceroy! This is really a very great achievement!

Resignation of Ministries.

There is yet another great achievement of Mr.

Jinnah. It is the resignation of the Congress Ministries. Mr. Jinnah stated in his notorious Deliverance Day statement that the Muslims should give thanks to God for the news that the Congress ministries have "at last ceased to function." On reading the statement one will be tempted to believe that by some remarkable act of Mr. Jinnah, the Congress Ministries were driven out of office! If he were honest he ought to have asked all the Muslim Leaguers to send thanks to Pandit Jawaharlal for the resignation of the ministries. It is a known fact that it is the cloud-high-idealism of this evil genius—in certain respects of Mother India that the Ministries were forced to resign.

Nehru, an evil genius.

Kindly excuse me for this criticism of the Pandit. Please do not think that I do not respect him. I am as much an admirer of the Pandit as any of you here. But it is the fate of India—perhaps its Karma—that either our leaders are often taken away at a critical time or they commit Himalayan blunders. Gokhale died at a critical time. Tilak was taken away at a more critical time. On a fateful day Gandhiji said that without Hindu-Muslim unity there is no Swaraj. This Pandit on an evil day, with his unduly blind hatred of British Imperialism, forced his will on Gandhiji and made him yield to his views in the matter of no support to the British Government in this War. He forced the Congress by his apparent sincerity to order the ministries to resign. Look at the stalemate and hornets-nest which this resignation has raised in our land! We would have

been certainly not the worse off if the Congress had not resigned.

League's Selfish Practicality

Look at the attitude of the Muslim Leaguers. While the Muslim majority provinces are doing everything to strengthen their position the Hindu provinces are suffering. In order to please the Muslims many things are done by the Government. The Britishers have found that the Muslims support them in this War, while the Congress, with its large membership of Hindus, refuse to support them. They are human beings with the natural qualities of anger and gratefulness. The Muslims, as I said, are supporting the British in this crisis. At a meeting of the Muslims of Bengal the following resolution was passed in August of last year :—

"That notwithstanding the fact that His Majesty's
"Govt. as well as the Govt. of India, have done very
"little for Muslims outside and inside India and that
"Muslims, therefore, have just reasons for dis-satisfa-
"ction and disappointment, particularly in connection
"with the troubles in Palestine, this Association has no
"hesitation in appealing to and calling upon the
"Muslims of Bengal and India to rally round the
"British flag in the present hour of crisis and
"respond wholeheartedly to any call for sacrifice and
"service that may be made on them"

The Muslim League also has echoed these sentiments in various ways. Surely the Britishers are not likely to forget this. *The future Federation of India, when it comes will do more harm to the Hindus than it would*

otherwise have done. That is why the Hindu Mahasabha wanted that the Hindus should accept the Federation with all its defects. But the Congress in its blind idealism and without caring for the good of the Hindus rejected the Federation. The one man responsible for this is that evil genius, our Pandit Nehru.

A Hindu Dewan Speaks.

Let me quote Sir R. K. Shanmugham Chetty, the Dewan of Cochin, a learned Politician and a Statesman, who wants that we should not "ignore Mr. Jinnah and his demands". On the other hand I feel that it is because of our weakness towards Mr. Jinnah's arrogant demands, that we are in this position. (Cheers). The Dewan has truly said addressing a gathering at the Loyola College that :

"We must blame our short-sighted politicians, who took an entirely wrong view of the political perspective. They wanted to wreck the Federation. They had done it with tragic results and they could now go to sleep".

I have often wondered how Pandit Jawaharlal with all his shrewdness and ability did not see through the game of Mr. Jinnah. The Congress and the Muslim League are like two opponents with entirely different ideals. Mr. Jinnah wanted to wreck the Federation because it would have given the Hindus a rightful and just preponderance over the Muslims, who are only less than one third of the population of India. The Pandit never saw this in his idiotic idealism. His mind was warped by his hatred of British Imperialism and he

thought that the Princes will have an efficient voice. He feels that the Princes are an anachronism of the medieval age. But he forgot that the Hindus—the 80% of the people of India—have a right to rule this country, whether they are Princes or not. He worked against Federation and thus helped Mr-Jinnah, the arch enemy of Indian nationalism. In the same way he forced the Ministries in the Hindu provinces to resign and took away the vast opportunity of doing as much as they can for the people at large in the Hindu Provinces. What have we got in return? Certain bold resolutions, which bring out the great idealism of the Pandit. The Muslims laughed under their sleeves at the foolishness of the Hindus. They stuck to their guns through their Ministries in Punjab, Sind, Bengal and Assam. In other provinces also they are having their own say. They say: "We help the Britishers while the Hindus are against them. Hence reward us".

The Muslims' Pleasure.

The Deccan Times, a Muslim Weekly, which has been very strenuously trying to bring about a Hindu Muslim problem in the Madras Presidency, wrote last year as follows:—

"As for the Provinces the resignation of the Ministers has not created any chaos and confusion in the country. The advisers to the Governors are carrying on the administration much more efficiently, smoothly and successfully than the Congress Ministries".

You see how Muslims are glad about the absence of the popular rule in the provinces where the Hindus are in a majority! They welcome it! Hence you see that the Pandit's action is doing great harm to the Hindus in most of the Provinces. This resignation of the Congress Ministries has produced very many conflicting parties and leaders. It was this foolishness of the Pandit, which is responsible for the amazing amount of conflicts and contrary opinions.

Lost opportunity.

If the Congress had been in power many things could have been done. Every country during wars makes a very great effort to increase the producing capacity of the country. We could have done many things, taking advantage of the scarcity of imports. Many cottage industries could have been given a phillip to progress on and on. This would have given profits to the people at large and unemployment amongst the educated classes, whether amongst the Hindus themselves or amongst the Muslims, which is the main cause for most of the communal troubles, as I will show later on, would have been reduced to some extent. Then our popular Governments could have trained millions of men in the provinces, which are considered to be non-martial classes. They could have trained them at least to walk in a uniform way. The Congress has started training camps. The way in which they were alleged to be marching as shown in photographs bring laughter amongst my European friends. It is patent that men who do not know how to train men are training them. Their

dressess are not in uniformity with one another. They wear different coloured shoes. They stand in a zig zag row. The volunteers of the Congress Sessions with all their uniform looked like Knights described by Cervantes from their very look and demeanour! I have a very high opinion about the sacrifices these volunteers make but that should not make me blind to the obvious defects. A Captain of the real army and not a bogus Captain could have been brought to the training camps and given good training to our men. Within three months we could have learnt to walk abreast in uniform. This would have been of much use to the people at large.

Civil Disobedience — A Distant Ideal

All these have been wasted for an empty idealism of the Pandit. Gandhiji has clearly stated that he will not start Civil Disobedience till his conditions are fulfilled. "I think it will take at least a century before we can all definitely fulfil his conditions. I do not think that we have even thousand persons, who fully satisfy Gandhiji's conditions. The Muslim League is sure and certain to induce the inflammable masses of Muslims to create riotings in various places as it did at Sukkur. In fact some of the Muslim League leaders have already hinted that if the Congress starts Civil disobedience without coming to terms with the League there will be trouble. I have talked with Congress friends and I have asked them "what have we gained by the resignations?". None have given me a proper answer. Some say that there has been a clear definition regarding Dominion Status. This declaration we would have got even without

resigning from the ministries. They talk of "independence" but in their inmost hearts they must realise that unless there are millions of Hindus well trained to guard our frontiers, violently or non-violently we cannot have independence in its real meaning. Gandhiji has been saying that he will be satisfied with the "substance of independence". Dominion Status of the Westminster variety does give it to us. Yet it is this evil genius of Pandit, with his high idealism, with no practicalism in it, has turned Gandhiji to go against the Dominion Status idea. As soon as the Viceroy made such an unambiguous statement the Congress ought to have gone back to office.

Foolish Idealism.

But the Pandit would not allow it. Idealism is good, friends. But it is foolish idealism, which does not take into consideration the practical aspect and conditions surrounding the subject matter. Once a nobleman was in his paddy fields. A pregnant woman was working there. Within a few minutes she was not to be found there. The nobleman came back within an hour and learnt that she had given birth to a fine baby and that she came out of her hut even during that day. The nobleman thought about this. Then, when the time for confinement for his wife came, he would not allow any doctor to attend on her, thinking of the poor woman of the field. The result was his wife died. (Laughter). You see that unless idealism is combined with practicalism there will be disaster. Hence it is, I state that this Pandit has committed a Himalayan blunder. I

am sorry I have wandered away from my subject. I did so with a view to explain why I am so much put out with the foolish idealism of the Pandit and why I criticise him. Lest you mistake me I have explained in detail my view point. Now let me go back to my friend Mr Jinnah. (Laughter)

Mr. Jinnah's Valnglorious Methods.

Mr. Jinnah, I said, proclaimed a Deliverance Day, knowing fully well that he had nothing to do with the resignation of the Congress ministries. But he wanted to deceive the Muslim masses by bringing about this Deliverance Day meetings. The ignorant masses thought that their great Mr. Jinnah was the cause of the resignation of the ministries. He wanted the masses to remember him. Hence it was that Deliverance Day was fixed up about three days prior to his birthday. This is another of the dodges played by Mr. Jinnah on the public at large, especially on the Muslim masses.

All these methods of taking the credit to himself for results to which he is not at all responsible shows that Mr. Jinnah does not stand on solid beneficial work done to the Muslims but he wants to carry the masses with him by sentiment. He is aware that the Muslim masses are more susceptible to such sentimental feelings than other communities in India. Hence he takes advantage of this weakness and rouses the people against the Hindus, who to him are only a people of "centuries old superstitions of the worst type thoroughly antagonistic to each other". Look at the arrogance of this man ! How he insults all the Hindus !

But the masses will soon be disillusioned. They will realize that this "separate Nation" theory does more harm to them than good. If I believe that my neighbour the Muslim belongs to a "separate Nation" and if he also believes like me, then we will treat each other as foreigners. I would try to buy articles from my "national" merchants, help my Nationals and will try my best to put down the "foreigner". My neighbour also will do the same. Since the Hindus are in a vast majority in 6 Provinces this enmity and hatred which Mr. Jinnah's efforts create, will do bitter harm to the Muslims.

Division of our Motherland ?

Mr. Jinnah categorically stated :

"If the British Government are really earnest and sincere about securing the peace and happiness of the people of this sub-continent (note the words "this sub-continent" not my Motherland") the only course open is to allow the major nations separate homelands by dividing India into autonomous national states".

He does not say that the Muslims in the Hindu Provinces are to be kept there alone. But when the absurdity of his theory and the danger to which it will lead the vast number of Muslims in a number of Provinces are pointed out, he explains in a later statement :—

"In the first place a wrong idea and a false

propaganda appear to have been set in motion in order to frighten the Muslim minorities that they would have to migrate enbloc and wholesale".

If this was not his idea then how can India be divided into Muslim India and Hindu India? In order to end a Civil War, Mr. Jinnah proposed this wonderful idea. Even this idea of separate nation is not original as it is merely a copy of a pamphlet published by Dr S. A. Latiff of Hyderabad State in which he wanted to divide India into Muslim Zones and Hindu Zones.

Certain implications.

If the Muslim are left in the Hindu Provinces and the Hindus in the Muslim Provinces then there will be still the conflict. Having started the idea of Muslims being a separate Nation, surely they cannot expect the Hindus and the Muslims, wherever they are in a majority to look upon the other as the children of the same Motherland, deserving the same equal treatment as meted out to the other. Where the Hindus pay the largest amount of taxes, with which the country is governed as in Bengal—the Hindus though in a minority of 48% of the population they pay 80% of the taxes—and in Hyderabad, the Hindus can reasonably state that their taxes should only be spent on the welfare of the members of their "Nation" and the money should on no account be spent for those, who say that they are a separate Nation and who always look for inspiration to Palestine and the lands beyond the Western frontiers. The Muslims also will say, in these places, like Kashmir and N. W. F. P., that

the money should only be spent for the uplift of the Muslims and not of the non-Muslims. Just as moneys endowed to Temples, Churches and Mosques are only used for the benefit of the communities to which those religious places belong, it is certainly reasonable that the general taxes also should be dealt with in the same way, if the Hindus and Muslims are different nations.

Mr. Jinnah has given his Fatwa that it "was a mere dream that Hindus and Muslims could ever evolve a common Nationality". The meaning is that just as the French and the Germans can never evolve a common Nationality, the Hindus and Muslims cannot do so. Just as the Germans will surely object to the taxes collected from them being spent on the French, the Hindu and the Muslim will do so, if the theory of Mr. Jinnah is allowed to be spread throughout India. In fact, each will look upon the other as an utter "foreigner".

The Muslims are scattered all over India. In a number of Provinces and States they are in a hopeless minority. In Bengal, Assam and Punjab the Hindus are not in such a hopeless minority. Hence this theory of Mr. Jinnah and his League will bring about a disaster to the Muslims and not to the Hindus in most parts of India. The only saving grace is that the Hindus by nature and religion do not do harm to others. But many Hindus are becoming militant even against their own conscience and in spite of the fervent teachings of Gandhiji, on account of the sheer brutality and arrogance with which the Muslims treat the Hindus.

Muslim Brutality.

Let not the Muslims think that we Hindus have forgotten the brutal, demonic murders and massacres at Malabar, Kohat and Sukkur. At first we were told by our own Hindu leaders that such massacres should not allow us to cloud our behaviour with Muslims.

But as days pass by, we find that even the English educated and Europe returned Muslims cannot be expected to render justice to the Hindus. These educated Muslims and their journals never condemn such cowardly murders by the Muslims. I have not come across one Muslim League leader or editor of a Muslim paper openly condemning the conduct of the Muslim majorities of Sukkur, who killed in cold blood, without giving an opportunity to the other side to defend themselves, men and women and children. Even pregnant women have been brutally dealt with and the babies in their wombs were taken out and thrown on the ground.

League Leaders, Abettors of Murders.

It was the result of Mr. Jinnah's teachings. I have already quoted Mr. Alla Bux, who categorically accused the Muslim Leaguers as abettors of these murders. At the League's conference at Karachi in October 1938 Mr. Jinnah said to the masses :—

"If reasons and arguments fail, our ultimate resort depends upon our own inherent strength".

Mr. Huq of Bengal said :—

"if Mahomed Bin Kasim an 8 year old lad, with 18

“soldiers, could conquer Sind, then surely 9 crores
“of Muslims can conquer the whole of India”.

The press reported that the audience signified its enthusiasm in a wild burst of cheering amidst voices: “you order us and we are ready to lay down our lives”. The result ended in Sukkur massacres, where the Muslims used their “inherent strength”. Some of the resolutions passed in that Conference under the guidance of Mr. Jinnah were:—

“to buy swadeshi cloth manufactured by Muslim
“weavers; to encourage Muslim shop-keepers”.

These ideas were spread amongst the uneducated and wild Muslims in every nook and corner of Sind and the result was that the most cowardly of all massacres took place within a year of Mr. Jinnah’s triumphal march in Sind of innocent men, women and children in a most inhuman way.

Mr. Jinnah’s inhuman Silence.

What does Mr. Jinnah the Great and noble leader who said that he has

“No quarrel with the Hindus generally for I have
“many personal friends amongst them”

say about these murders? He keeps silent. He presides over a Conference at Lahore and much fuss is made over a few Muslims being shot down by the police but no word was said about the Sukkur massacres. He did not forget it but he did remember it as you will realise, if you read his address at Lahore. He says that Mr. Gandhi has recommended that the Hindus must

"raise private armies and they must defend themselves violently or non-violently, blow for blow. if they cannot, they must emigrate"

When I read this distortion of what Gandhiji wrote I was reminded of what Mr. Jinnah once said in a court. The Judge whom he was addressing said :

"Mr. Jinnah you should remember that you are not addressing a third class Magistrate."

Mr Jinnah retorted

"The Court should remember that a third rate Lawyer is not addressing the Court."

I am sorry to say that even a fourth rate Lawyer would not have stooped to distort Gandhiji's statement on Sukkur massacre in the way in which this Barister distorted Gandhiji's advice to the people. But this is only by the way. I only referred to this to show that Mr. Jinnah did remember Sukkur and yet not a word was said by him or by any of those humane gentlemen, who wanted to combine all minorities against the Hindus

Mr. Jinnah's Anger.

This English Educated Barrister with all the civilization of the 20th century at his back said at the shooting down of thirty Muslim Khaksars, who had defied the authorities and wounded a number of high police officials and had killed one at Lahore that "when our blood was boiling and when thirty Muslims were shot dead, it was very difficult to keep calm". Yet at Sukkur by cowardly Muslims, instigated by the Muslim Leaguers, Hindus were massacred in cold blood and

lacs worth of properties were destroyed, men and women were dishonoured by Mr. Jinnah's brethren and yet this great Civilized Barrister did not utter one word of condemnation on the cowardly perpetrators of these crimes and not a word of sympathy escaped his lips to the suffering humanity at Sukkur. Because they are all Hindus to whom he professes friendship and that he is only angry at the Congress High Command ! They did not forget at the Conference to pass a resolution about distant Palestine but as for Sukkur, the massacred men and women were only Kaffirs and they only obtained their deserts from the Faithful were, perhaps, the thoughts of every Muslim assembled there !

Beware of Traitors !

Yet there are certain representatives of Parsis and Ambedkarites attempting to place their faith in Mr. Jinnah ! There are educated Knights and Periyars in Madras Presidency who are ready to invite Mr. Jinnah to that Presidency to garland him and bless him for his silence on sad massacres of Hindus. Friends ! I found you all uneasy when I was speaking a minute ago at the conduct of educated Muslims of Mr. Jinnah's variety. What do you think of those traitrous brother Hindus who, forgetting all these recent wrongs done by the Muslim League to our brethren at Sukkur, stoop even to write to Mr. Jinnah or speak to him or look at him. What shall we say of all these modern Raja Mansinga and Todar Mals, who are the greater enemies of the Hindus than the Muslim, Mr. Jinnah ? Because our Motherland has produced such traitors to Hinduism that

we are suffering. These men, secure in¹ their homes thinking of some jobs, finding that Mr. Jinnah is arrogant and bullying towards Gandhiji want to worship him ! They write to him in secret, talk to him in secret and send him memorandums and authorise him to speak on behalf of them to the Viceroy. Oh ! the baseness, the meanness of all these ! It is sickening. Were they aware of the sufferings of our Sikkur brother Hindu men, women and children ? If they were not aware they may be excused. But, if being aware they invite Mr. Jinnah, then they are worse than walking corpses. Let me leave this topic. The more I think on this tragedy the more my blood boils. Not in a war, not in fair fight our brothers and sisters of Sikkur were massacred, Brethren, but without a warning and without even giving them a little chance to defend themselves, by Muslim hooligans of Sind.

Civil war, the armour of the Muslim League.

This mentality is a policy with the Muslim League. It wants to terrrise the Hindus by such cowardly massacres and thus make us submit to them. That is, why two old leaders, like Bhai Paramanand and Savarkar, than whom none—nay, not even any member of the Congress High Command—in India have suffered more for the country, want military training for the Hindus. There is no use of speaking of non-violence to the Muslims of this temperament. They only believe in force and nothing else. They always talk of a Civil War. Mr. Jinnah said in his address at Lahore that

"A termination of the British regime would herald

“an entire break up with a worse disaster than had ever taken place during the last 1000 years under “Muslims”.

I admire the honesty of Mr. Jinnah at least in this matter. He categorically admits that the Muslim Rule was one of “disaster” to India. He does not believe in the fiction, which a Hindu Professor of a college in the Hindu State of Cochin under a Hindu Dewan, said that there were palmy days during the Moghul Rule. Mr. Jinnah speaking at Aligarh said :

“The Muslims were only a handful when they first came to India about 800 years ago and established their Raj. The number of Muslims at present is nine crores”.

Sword ! Sword !! Sword !!!

You can read between the lines, Friends. Mr. Choudhury Khaliquassam said :

“If the issue between the Hindus and Muslims is to be decided by means of the sword, Muslims have “no fear”.

The meaning is clear that they will defeat us by the sword. This speaker forgets that our brother Hindus, the Mahrattas pulled to pieces the Muslim Empire with their swords (cheers). Sardar Aurangzeb Khan, leader of the opposition in the Assembly at the Frontier Province said that :

“He was there to assure the Muslims living in the “Hindu Provinces that they were ready at all times to lay down their lives for the sake of their co-religionists”.

Sir Abū'la Hardon M. L. A. (Central) from Sind said that.

"He warned the Hindus that if the Muslims in the Hindu Provinces were not justly treated the Hindus in the Muslim Provinces would be treated in the same manner in which Herr Hitler had treated the Sudetan Germans".

It was in the province of this redoubtable KNIGHT that such horrible murders were done at Sukkur. He is the leader of the Muslim League, which was responsible for such cowardly massacres of Muslims.

The Nazis of India.

There is an organisation of Muslims which is exactly a prototype of Herr Hitler's Gestapo a sort of a Ku-Klu-X-Klan of America called the Khaksars. To deceive the public and the Government the leader, an English educated Muslim, Mr. Inayathulla Khan, has given to it an air of social service, while his very idea is to root out every other Religion, especially the Hindu Religion. Most of the members of the organisation have to sign a pledge in their own blood to the effect that:

"He solemnly promised for God, His Prophet, and the ascendancy of Islam to sacrifice his life at the order of the leader and that he holds that he deserves a place in Hell if at any time he disobeyed the order of the Leader".

Thus a single man is made a Hitler in India;

They are secretly and openly doing everything to uproot Hinduism. Government servants and ministers

of Government become members of such an organisation. It seems a Minister of Sind was a prominent member of this organisation, and hence it is no wonder that the Hindus were massacred mercilessly at Sukkur, without the offenders being immediately shot dead.

The Leader is supreme and as the Kings of old he can do no wrong and none can question him. It is said that they have got about 400000 members and 5000 branches, all obeying Mr. Inayathalla Khan, just like the Germans do of Herr Hitler's order. They do not believe in non-violence. The leader wrote in his organ quoting from the Quoran (I cannot say whether he has correctly quoted from the Quoran but I merely quote what he wrote) that:

"The Faithful are those who murder and are murdered" and if the

British feel themselves incompetent to hold their own in India, and if their incompetence

has reached the extent that they wanted to hand over the garden to the birds in place of the gardener,

the Muslims would be compelled to go forward with the book depicting the story of the world

and show that it was all written in the words of blood and not in those of spectacles, pantaloons,

dhoties, salutes with folded hands, lathi blows or the spinning wheel. Whosoever may wish to read it

may do so with open eyes."

True to his policy of force and violence the leader often gets the members publicly whipped for any disobedience, and members submit to it out of sheer terror.

Punjab Government and a Saint (?)

Such a dangerous movement, which is against all canons of justice, fairplay and which is *prima facie* held to be violent was allowed by the Punjab Government to progress on and on just because its object was:

"To establish hegemony over the world to become rulers once again, and to conquer the universe is our Religion our Will and our Ideal."

And of course all these things are in the name of Islam. This Leader is called Allama Mashraqui, which means the "Sage" of the East. Well, friends I have given you some ideas of the "Sage" and, of course the followers of this leader must have different meaning of the word "Sage" than we ordinarily understand by that simple word. (laughter) This "Sage" was becoming *more and more* arrogant. You may all remember how much hindrance and trouble he gave to the Congress ministry at U. P. But as soon as the Congress Government left the Ministry he stopped all his activities there! This clearly proves that this leader, supported by various Muslim officers, is only against the Hindus. When Government becomes docile to brutal force there is danger to every body. He over shot his mark when he wrote in his paper:

"If the Punjab Government declares war (they had prohibited military marches by Khaksar and other organisations) the provincial leaders will send 30000 khakear soldiers to Lahore within one week.....In case war is declared, they should reach the bed of

“Sir Sikander within five days from every part of India and surround it with corpses.”

The fact that the Hon'ble Sir Sikander Hayat Khan did not take any part openly in the Muslims League conference at Lahore, though he used to travel to other Provinces to attend it, shows clearly that even he was afraid of the violence of the Khaksars.

These various quotations from the great Mr. Jinnah to the leader of the Khaksar movement and also from all the other leaders of Muslims clearly prove that we Hindus, the people of this Bharata Varsha, have no hope of any justice from the Muslim Leaguers and those who agree with them. It is said that there are Nationalistic Muslims. These persons are very rarely seen outside their own homes. They never do anything practical to detract such kind of ideologies, which are against all canons of justice and fairplay. Hence there is no use of pinning our faith in the so called Nationalistic Muslims. Unless they come to the front and boldly condemn the ideas of these Pan-islamic and fanatical Indian Muslims we will not be justified in trusting them. I have not come across any statement from any Nationalistic Muslim strongly condemning the brutal massacres at Sukkur.*

The Psychology of Muslims.

The difficulty is that most of the Muslims are dreaming of the past tragic glories of the rule of an

* This address was delivered before the Azad Conference of Muslims at New Delhi.

Aurangzeb and a Tippu' 'I am' not expressing in this remark my own view' *The Simla Commission Report* says 1 / 11

'The splendid monuments of Moghul architecture stand as a perpetual reminder of the vanished domination of the Mahammadan rule and the community does not forget that it represented the previous conquerors of the country'. 7 / 11

By using the word 'previous' the report gives support to the fiction that the English took the country from the Moghuls. Many Muslims think that the English ousted them from the position of the rulers of India, but history proves that long before the English came to be the rulers of India, the Maharattas had ousted the Muslim Rulers and had made them prisoners. Hence it is historically wrong to call the Muslims "the previous Rulers" of the country in the sense that they preceded the British; It was from the Maharattas, the Sikhs and the Rajputs—the real sons of India—that the English obtained the country and not from its previous conquerors.

The London Times in its special issue on the eve of the introduction of the 1935 Act wrote regarding the Muslims as follows

'There are a dozen political parties amongst Muslims and all of them give first place to Islam and only second place to an 'All India Polity'. The majority of the Moslem parties are sectional, "governed in many cases by Moslems holding religious views peculiar to various aspects of the

"Moslem faith. One of the objects of the Moslem League is to "maintain and strengthen the relations "between the Moslems in India and those of other "countries". It has been well said by some one that "the Indian Moslems "place creed before race; "Religion before Nationalism".

A writer in that thoughtful journal, the *Round Table*, says:

"While the Congress still aims at a united India "which will associate British India with the Indian "States the Moslems are moving more and more "towards separatism and the creation of Moslem "Ulster in the country."

Such is the verdict of the journal, which is not partial towards Indian Nationalism. We all can say that the writer has perfectly understood the mentality of the Muslim League in this matter. Hence it is that Sri V. D. Savarkar justly says:

"The Moslems remained Moslems first, Moslems "last and Indians never."

Baneful Influence.

This idea of separation, though it is absurd even from the interests of the Muslims themselves, takes various courses. For instance there is a tendency amongst Muslims to view with favour the prospect of joining with the border Robbers of North Western India. The kidnappings and murders, which take place are not looked upon with disfavour by the Indian Muslims: In fact the Muslim League in one of its

resolutions protested against the fine on a village for certain crimes committed by the people of that village. The view of the League seems to be that since the crimes were committed against the Hindus, the Government of the N. W. F. P. with a Muslim majority ought not to punish the Muslim robbers and goondas! Such is the Nationalism of the Muslim League and it is such an organisation which wants to get the upperhand over the whole of India! What kind of justice we will get from such an organisation? Let the Anglo Indians the Parsis, and Ambedkarities, who wanted to hob nob with Mr. Jinnah think about this. I am not exaggerating. Hear what the Muslim League leaders say. Sir Currimbhoy Ibrahim of Bombay, a lieutenant of Mr. Jinnah, said last year, when he was welcomed at Madras that:

"The Muslims should remember that they were
"the rulers of India for over 800 years and it is
"possible that Muslims may again rule India."

Janab Mahomed Lalju Saheb, a prominent member of the Madras Muslim League in a conference at Tanjore said:

"If we continue to organise the Muslim League
"the day will undoubtedly come when we shall rule
"over the major portion of India even as our revered
"ancestors ruled over India in the past."

One Rizwan-ul-hasan writes in the Manchester Guardian that the:

"Hindus were the colonial population of the
"Muslim Empire of India".

A voice :—He must be a mad man ! No ! If he is a mad man then there are many such mad men amongst Muslims. A number of Muslim leaders are propagating such an idea amongst the people, and it is the policy with the Muslim League to advertise that the Hindus are weak and that the British are going to give more powers and that this is the opportunity to regain their lost "empire".

The Past, an eye Opener

The facts and statements mentioned by me will give you some idea of the present day Muslims. Let me not waste your time in mentioning the untold wrongs, which the Muslim Rulers had done to India by demolishing our Temples, forcibly converting our men and women, and doing horrible wrongs on the Hindus over whom they ruled. Lest I be thought to have exaggerated I wish to quote an impartial and learned writer Mr. Basel Mathews. In his book "Secret of the Raj" he says that :

"The Moghuls taxed the people, and with the money built the most opulent palaces and the most gorgeous tombs in the world...But the common people were oppressed and starved, harried and slain. From famine stricken hovels they looked at the palaces in which their conquerors feasted. No eye of pity or thought of justice turned towards the simple people.

"There are no viler or more awful cruelties in the world's history than those of Moghul Emperors in India. In cold blood they trampled their captives to death under elephants, tore out the hearts of

"children to sling in the face of their fathers, pulled men slowly to pieces with red hot pincers...They did these things to strike terror into their subjects. But though they held India for eight centuries, they never held all of her, nor was their rule ever free from revolt".

Warners to the Hindus.

I have given you some inkling of the ideas of the Muslim Leaguers and what is in store for us and others, who are not Muslims as expressed openly by their leaders.

Permit me to draw your attention to certain other patent facts, which will show you how the wind blows. I would only say in the words of the Leader of the Khaksar :

"Whosoever may wish to read it may do so with "open eyes".

When the Muslims in Kashmir were agitating and revolting against the Ruler of Kashmir, "the Kashmir Day" was held all over India by the Muslims. None of us anywhere in India obstructed it. But when the Hindus held Hyderabad Day, there were riotings by Muslim mobs instigated by the Muslim Leaders. The Muslim preachers abuse Hinduism and other Religions and say that their Religion is the only true Religion. But they will not give that same liberty to others. Any one criticising that Religion has to risk his life. It has been seriously proposed in the U. P. and Sind that no one except a Muslim should print and publish the Holy Quoran. It passes my comprehension how

such a thing can be enforced. Even force, the armour of the Muslims, cannot succeed in preventing the other Provinces where such a law can never come into existence from publishing the Quoran. Then what about others beyond India? This trivial matter shows how very intolerant the Muslims are.

It is a common occurrence to find that some cinema picture, which is said to wound the Muslim Religion violently prevented from being shown. The fun of the whole affair is that a film, which is certified in one part of India, where there are Muslims, become highly objectionable to certain other Muslims in other parts of India. It is enough if some fanatic spreads the news that it is highly objectionable to the Muslim Religion for the Muslim masses to gather and create a row.

We often find that lathies, brickbats and soda water bottles very conveniently make their appearance from Mosques, when any Hindu procession passes in front of a Mosque with music. Sometimes, before these Mosques, where the Muslims pray, marriage parties are converted into funeral procession on account of the death of some one in the procession due to Muslim violence. We find that Khaksars, who want to obstruct the authorities very easily find an asylum in Mosques, the place where one is expected to commune with God! None of the other Religions of India ever allows such things to take place in their religious places. Go to any place of worship belonging to the Hindus, the Parsies, the Buddhists, the Jains and Christians. You can never meet such instances of violence at any time. The Muslim leaders instead of

turning the masses away from such ideas only encourage them !

They further act and speak in such a way which only strengthen the belief of the masses that they are not of this Bharatavarsha, but are of the Deserts of Arabia. For instance the late Maulana Mahammad Ali who was considered to be a great patriot, wanted that his body should be buried in an Arabian town, which is sacred to Muslim religion, and not in the land of his birth ! I feel sure that every other human being in this world except perhaps the Indian Muslims, wants to die in his own country and if that is not possible he wants that his remains at least should be sent over to his dear Motherland. But the great Mahammad Ali did not even wish this. This gives you a better idea of the Muslim "patriotism" than anything else ! (Laughter),

League Leader's Communalism.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah addressing a meeting of Muslims at Rajkot said :

"The Children of Islam wherever they may be do not know territorial boundaries. We shall stand together and we shall have all Muslims together."

An intimate friend of Mr. Jinnah writing his biography says that :

"Mr. Jinnah at the present day stands solely for the rights of the Moslem community."

It seems Mr. Jinnah said when he was young

"It is my ambition to become the Moslem Gokhale."

These statements clearly show that Mr. Jinnah does not look upon himself as an Indian but only as a Muslim. When a leader himself always thinks communally then there is no hope of his followers thinking in any other way. They are more concerned about Palestine than about the calamities of their neighbours, the Hindus.

Anti-Communalism of Turkish leaders.

This idea that they have more affinity with a non-Indian than with his brother Indian is a peculiar characteristic of the Indian Muslim. We never come across the Egyptian, the Turk, the Arab, the Persian and the Afghan or the Muslims in China or even in Albania thinking in this way. They are all first rate patriots looking to the honour of their respective countries. Only our Indian Muslims wax eloquent and get hysterical over the happenings in other Muslim countries. Allow me to support my view point by quoting Mr. M. Bay Burhan Belge, Director of the press department of the Turkish foreign office. He categorically said :

“We in Turkey do not recognise India in terms of “Hindus and Muslims. We have great respect for “Indians and we sympathise with them as they “sympathise with us. But I refuse to admit that “the Moslems of India have any special claims on “our sympathies and support because Turkey “happens to be a Moslem country.”

That famous and learned Turkish lady Halide Elib, after visiting India a few years ago said :

“As, for the extreme Muslim communalist he is

"even a greater stumbling block in India's struggle
 "for independence than the extreme Hindu
 "communalist. He (the Muslim) is no good for his
 "own community, as he has no constructive plan
 "for its uplift. As to his attitude towards the
 "Hindus, he deludes himself by the mere fact of
 "calling himself a Muslim (without any under-
 "standing of its broad and enduring principles) and
 "by the capacity he has, both for dying and killing
 "more readily than the Hindus, he will easily
 "dominate the Hindus in the future. Though I
 "sincerely believe that Muslim India is a separate
 "nation, he has never thought out whether it
 "possible or not, to have two nations living in the
 "same country in a modern state. Hence the
 "moment it comes to a communal settlement of
 "communal lines, there seems two alternatives
 "either to admit that a third power must be there
 "to keep the peace or consider that India is faced
 "with an ever lasting impasse. Will India then
 "be led by the communalists, who believe in two
 "Indian Nations? Considering the progress
 "achieved in India and the inability of
 "communalist organisation to cope with the
 "requirements of a modern State, the writer
 "is disposed to think it not possible for any length
 "of time".

It is amusing to find Indian Muslims celebrating
 the birth days of Kemal Ataturk. If they really admire
 him certainly they ought to behave better and should not

attempt to divide India, and talk always of Muslims outside India and hate the Hindus, who are their neighbours and who live in the four clear corners of the land. Certainly that is not the lesson taught by the great Kemal.

Open threats of Muslim Leaders.

I have sketched to you the mentality of Muslims from the speeches of the Leaders of the Muslim League variety, which will give you an idea how their psychology is working. An Englishman once said that the Muslim "grievances are emotional" and not real ones. I think he has correctly analysed the mentality of the Muslims. But I should like to warn you and other Hindus that we should not sleep over this mentality, thinking that it is not a real one. It is always the case in this world that emotional and imaginary grievances are more dangerous than actual ones, as the latter can be remedied but the former cannot be remedied and redressed. Hence I wish to draw to your attention to the various steps, which the Muslims take to bring about the accomplishment of their ideology.

Sudetans of India.

Mr. Jinnah said at Karachi :

"Just as the Sudetan Germans were not defenceless and survived the oppression and persecution for two decades, so also the Muslims are not defenceless and cannot give up their national entity and the aspirations in this great continent".

He broadly hints that there are border Muslim

Rulers, who will help the Muslims in India against the Hindus, just as Hitler did at Czechoslovakia. He feels that but for the British bayonets he and his co-religionists can take the upper hand over us. In an exclusive interview to the *Daily Mail* London in February of this year he said :

"Gandhi should ask the immediate withdrawal of "that humiliating" British bayonet so that the "people of India should settle their own manner of "self determination in complete independence".

You see how his mentality works !

Mr. Mahomed Isa Khan, President of the Baluchistan Muslim League at Lahore assured

"his co-religionists in the minority provinces that "when they had achieved freedom in the majority "provinces they would not forget them and would be "prepared to render every kind of help in their "power".

I want you to understand the inner meaning of this statement, remembering that the League wants that while there should be an independent Muslim State or States in India, the rest of the Muslims in India should be treated as "Nationals" of this Independent Muslim State, so that every day there may be conflicts between two nationals all over India. I should like to quote to you Dr. Syed Abdul Latif, a citizen of the Hyderabad State, whose ideas, as I stated before, Mr. Jinnah has merely borrowed in his "two nations" theory. In his pamphlet published more than two years before the Lahore Session, he states that :

“a civil war between the Muslims and Hindus
“...will be a war which India never experienced in
“its long history, and will not be confined to any
“single province.

Hyderabad's Move.

Added to all these threats of Muslim Leaders you find the so-called Muslim State of Hyderabad, (many Muslims want that it should be made independent of rest of India when it has only less than 9% Muslim population and that H. E. H. should be called His Majesty) is taking various steps to help the Muslims by very large contributions collected out of the taxes of the Hindus, not only for the Muslims of India but even for those beyond the borders of India. Recently the Prime Minister of that State Sir Akbar Hydari visited the North West Frontier Province and had many confidential talks with various Muslim Leaders in that Province and even with men, who are beyond the pale of British India. He said at Peshwar :

“The importance of your position in Indian
“politics needs no emphasis. You are the link
“in the great chain forged by common faith, which
“binds the Muslims of India to the Muslims of other
“countries.....I cannot help alluding here to the
“intimate connection between us.....Pathans not
“only form part of His Exalted Highness's armed
“forces in the heart of the Deccan nearly two
“thousand miles from here. The Osmania Hostel
“now symbolises this close connection between
“the two.”

Friends, please mark the words "great chain" and "intimate connection". These are the words from a responsible Prime Minister in an Indian State, who is considered to be a disciple of the Hindu Saint Sri. Arobindo Ghose and who is said to be the moderate of the moderate Muslims.

League Forging the Chain.

What are we to infer from all these and other innumerable speeches made by various Muslims coupled with the Pakisthan Idea, to bring it about, the Muslims are doing many things openly and secretly? An important member of the Muslim League, Maulana Azad Sobani went at the request of the Muslim League on a tour throughout the Islamic countries and he returned through Kabul in February of this year. The Secretary of the Reception Committee of the Lahore Muslim League Session in a communication said :

"That the President of Iraq assembly and the Waft Party of Egypt have accepted the invitation "to attend the session. Representatives from Hedjaz, Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan are also "expected to attend".

All these show how the wind of the Muslim League is blowing and in what direction.

These are the outward signs but what takes place behind the screen and away from the public view we cannot say. But it is reasonable to infer from the violent language and threats used by Mr. Jinnah downwards to the leader of Baluchistan League, that the

Muslims are determined to carry out this dismemberment of our Ancient and Sacred land by brutal force aided by foreign Muslims. Whether the latter are ready to fall in with the Indian Muslim Leaguers or not I am not in a position to say. If we are to believe the meanings of the various statements of Muslim leaders it is certain they fondly and sincerely hope that foreign Muslims will come to help their aggression.

Hindus Sleep over Danger.

What are we doing to stem this Grave Danger to the Hindus and to this most ancient land, whose civilisation has not been extinguished in spite of hordes and hordes of invaders entering on our land? I feel that we are doing nothing, absolutely nothing and we are supremely unconscious of the danger, which is cutting our ground from our feet.

Anglo Indians attitude.

I have been following not only the Muslim League's activities but also the various suggestions given by Anglo Indian papers, who are unconsciously laying the foundation for the destruction of the brightest jewel of the British Empire by their support to all the unreasonable and outrageous demands of the Muslim League. *The Madras Mail* has been creating a Muslim "problem" in the Madras presidency by various means. It wrote on Savarkar's address at Calcutta :

"Any future revision of the constitution must necessarily be largely based on a recognition that "there can be no peace in India, no real democracy

"as differentiated from theoretic democracy, in this country, unless the anxieties of minorities are met".

When I wrote to the Editor pointing out that if majorities rule their countries all over the world why in India alone such a policy should not be followed, the Editor has no answer but he refused to publish my letter in which I attacked the Editor's view point :

Another Anglo Indian paper wrote "if by democracy is understood the mere counting of heads then the minorities are for all time reduced to the status of lesser breeds without the law."

But is it fair that majorities should be reduced to be slaves of a minority just because the latter's alleged ancestors had ruled this land some centuries ago? When I pointed out the Danger of this policy, the Editor of an important Anglo Indian paper wrote to me :

"We have no more desire to see Pakiasthan than you have, and it is in an attempt to avoid that contingency we invite Congress to make certain concessions to the Muslims which would enable agreement to be reached."

But these papers take every opportunity to tickle the Muslims so that they may always be kept on false hopes.

Bengal Europeans attitude

I am told that the English representatives of the Legislatures in Bengal have made it a policy to oppose the Hindus. They have so lost their one time boasted fairnees of the British race, that they do not raise their voice against the kidnappings of Hindu women and the sacrileges, which are done to Hindu religious places in

Bengal. I think it is but natural as the Hindu terrorists and the "talking Hindu politicians" of Bengal have been attacking the English, in season and out of season, even where there was no necessity to attack them. After all the English also are human beings, with the usual weaknesses. I can imagine the Englishmen saying to themselves :

"These Hindus were always abusing us and British Imperialism. Let the fools now have a taste of Muslim imperialism !"

They cannot be blamed for saying so. After all, the Englishman is not such a bad fellow as a German, Italian, or Russian. We have been moving with him for ever one century and it is better to amicably settle our differences with him as he is not desirous of handing over the country to any other foreigner.

Retain British Friendship.

Hence I would appeal to the Hindus not to unnecessarily go up against the English. Their friendship will be of great use to us against the Pakistan movement. This does not mean that we should dovetail to them always. But between British Imperialism and the Muslim Imperialism, if the previous history is a source of guidance, Most of the Hindus—nay, most of the other people in this whole world—will accept British Imperialism. (Cheers) Let me not be misunderstood. I am not for ever to allow the British to be lording over us. I am for a partnership with them, keeping their friendship as it is beneficial to us. The Congress it is a pity did not follow the advice of Gandhiji in

"labouring under any special disabilities on account
 "of their being a minority community have been
 "favoured almost everywhere and that, at the
 "expense of the majority Hindu community, with
 "the result that to-day many, but not the more
 "reasonable, patriotic and far sighted amongst them,
 "are behaving like the spoilt children of the British
 "administration, of Hindu weakness in yielding too
 "easily its legitimate rights and recently of Congress
 "precipitancy to placate them. I am constrained
 "to add that the unusual consideration shown by the
 "Congress ministries has not had the effect
 "anticipated, namely, of propitiating our Musalman
 "brethren and of removing their distrust. On the
 "other hand they have displayed what I am
 "regretfully compelled to call an increasing
 "truculence and every demand that has been met
 "and every concession that has been made have
 "seemed to whet their appetite more." "How true
 these remarks are!

Bengal's Inglorious Days.

It is a son of Bengal who speaks. I am really
 ashamed that the Bengali Hindus have not yet realised
 what a gem of a leader Mr. Mukerjee will be to them in
 their present state of quarrels, silliness and emotionalism,
 which are bordering on hysteria started by the Bose
 brothers. I would appeal to all Hindus of Bengal to
 completely place their destiny in the hands of Mr.
 Mukerjee and allow him to lead them. Let them give

him unquestioned obedience for a year and I promise them that the Bengal Hindus will rise from their present miserable position. Bengal to which we have been looking forward to lead all India is in the hands of impractical politicians and school boys ! Here is a leader in Mukerjee. If Bengal wants to rise from the Danger of Muslims, let them follow this Christian leader, leaving all their Hindu leaders. I am sorry I have gone astray from my address proper but the pitiable position of the Bengali Hindus whom I love and respect, have made me wander away from my point.

You have heard Friends, the opinion of a Bengali Christian, who represents the views of All India Christians. Now hear another Christian, hailing from Allahabad. Mr. B. S. Gilani stated that :

“Since Congress accepted Provincial Ministries
“over two years ago if anyone has scooped the plum
“of attention from the Congress Working Committee
“and from the Ministries, it is the minorities in
“India”.

Again hear what an ex-Governor, who was in U. P. when the Congress ministers were functioning said at London. Sir Harry Haig said that :

“He was very mindful of the interests of the
“minorities for which the constitution vested special
“powers in him : but he never had an occasion to
“exercise such power at all”.

Apart from these, the various statistics published by the Congress Governments have clearly and cate-

gorically proved that the Congress Hindus had shown a cowardly "weakness and precipitancy towards the Muslims" to quote Mr. Mukerjee again. We, Hindus know fully well that we have yielded and yielded for every so called privileges of the Muslims such as music before Mosque, separate Schools, separate teachers and appointments for Muslims with no qualifications, except that they wear a fez caps, (laughter) free scholarship and half fees etc. etc.

Polite nobleness misconstrued.

We are tired of this, dead tired. The Muslim League has woefully misunderstood our polite and mild attitude towards Muslims, our Gandhiji going and seeing Mr. Jinnah twice, our Jawaharlal visiting him and talking to him and writing to him—all these they think are prompted by weakness and cowardice. I think, friends, we must ask our leaders, not to talk to the Muslim League hereafterwards. They are a separate Nation and let them have their own ways!

CHAPTER III.

A draft letter to Gandhiji.

I request you all to send statements signed by genuine Hindus—I mean not forged signatures (laughter) from every nook and corner to Gandhiji, to the following effect:

Dear Mahatmaji, you have almost killed yourself in attempting to bring about Hindu Muslim unity and it

has gone farther and farther away like a mirage. You are too saintly to deal with a cold blooded politician like Mr. Jinnah. You have brought disgrace on the whole of Hindu community by going and seeing Mr. Jinnah at his house twice. A Muslim League Leader, one Mr. Khaliffula, taunted us that the Hindu Leaders are "knocking at the door of Mr. Jinnah on bended knees" when you went to see Mr. Jinnah. You are aware that Mr. Jinnah could have easily come and seen you and yet he almost ordered you—a saint and an older man—to go over to his place. This has wounded us very much. We were silent on account of the greatness of your character, but hereafter we cannot contain ourselves. We are unable to endure the insulting words, which these Muslim League Leaders are showering on us. We request you in the name of Bharata Matha not to have anything to do with this leader hereafterwards.

You have said that a Constituent assembly should settle the matter. Wait for it. Unite the Hindus and if the Muslims come under your leadership let them do so; otherwise let them take their own course. Have you not got enough of work to do amongst the Hindus? Why should you unnecessarily worry yourself with the Muslim League and its leaders? Mr. Jinnah is trying to draw you out again over the Two Nation theory as he did regarding the Federation. With due respect we request you in the words of Poet Kipling "Don't dance, or ride with President Jinnah as he is a most arrogant anti-Hindu man." He says that you are the only person, who can deliver the goods on behalf of the Hindus. You

get such a power from the millions of Hindus, who worship you and who are obeying you to the best of their ability. Please do not drive us into despair and rebel against you. Sometimes when the army finds that the General is committing a blunder the soldiers have to disobey him, just as Admiral Nelson put the telescope to his blind eye, when his Commander wanted the British fleet to retreat and flee ' I think in your very busy life you do not know what all things these Muslim Leaguers say about Hindus. The more we yield the more arrogant they are becoming. Even where they are a handful they speak as if they are the rulers of the Hindus. We have been enduring all these arrogance for your sake : but we give you a humble warning that after this two nation theory we cannot do so. We will have to take action as it suits each place. Please do not blame us.

Take a vow that you will not talk of Hindu Muslim unity with the Muslim League or any of its leaders hereafterwards. We assure you that the unity you devotedly wish for will come unasked. If you agree with Mr. Jinnah and surrender to him then there will arise a Khaksar Leader, who will ask us to become Muslims, otherwise he will say that the Quoran has said that the "faithful are those who murder and are murdered".

Oh! Mahatmajee! How we wish that you will realise that we are writing this out of love and reverence to you and not in anger. Leave the Muslim League alone. That is the only prayer we ask of you and we

shall obey you in other matters as best as we can. May Lord Sri Krishna guide you in the right way!

An open reply to Muslim Leaguers.

To the Muslim Leaguers we shall emphatically declare: The sooner you get rid of your idea that the Hindus are weak and that you can overcome them by force, it is better for all of us. You think that at present you may have the "capacity for dying and killing more readily than" we but that is because we value god-given life and not because we are cowards. Do not think that just because we do not get offended at every silly act of yours, we are going to remain so forever. You should remember that we are 270 millions. If you want peace, we are ready for peace but if you want to bully us the time has come for you to realise that the Hindus will not submit to it. Your leader deludes you by saying that the British, who are only "two lacs" are ruling over the whole of India and hence that you can rule over us also. If you think so we can also think that we can rule over you. We have been fair to you and we have allowed you to live without molesting you as others do in other parts of the world. But you seem to have caught this quixotic notion that though you are undoubtedly a minority you can rule over us! Your leader seems to think that just because certain Modern Raja Mansings and Todar Mals amongst us are joining him, he can deceive us.

Your leader is no doubt a clever man. He threatens the British and gets concessions from them and then he threatens Gandhiji, our Saint, and gets from

him also some concessions. But we have woken up and we find that we majorities are denied our lawful rights. Our Sainly leader also has clearly stated "I see that minorities crop up like mushrooms till there will be no majority left", and that he will only yield to "legitimate satisfaction, which will not militate against the progress of the Nation as a whole". He has further stated "I must however, take care that the generosity (towards Muslims) is not done at the expense of the very cause for which it is sought to be done".

Your leader is misguiding you regarding the Pakistan idea. We need only remind you that there are our brethren the stalwart Sikhs in the Punjab, who will not allow a Pakistan to come into existence in their Holy Land. Just as you all feel very much for your Holy Land, situated in far off Arabia, you must also think that we Hindus and Sikhs do feel for OUR HOLY LAND, which is the land of our Birth and not situated in a far off land but it is in front of us every day and we walk and sleep on it daily. Hence remember that we will also be roused about our Holy Land, as much as you are roused to defend your Holy Land in Arabia for which you often pass resolutions in your League meetings.

Your Leader may again try to misdirect you by saying that the British are with the Muslims. The Britishers have already spoken in unmistakable terms regarding this matter. His Excellency the Viceroy the other day speaking at Nagpur said :

“We should be wise to think at all times of India
“as a single whole and to have in our minds the desire
“to do what is in our power lies to hold her together
“and to see her progress on the path of political and
“constitutional development”. (6th Jan. 1940).

The London Times, which is expected to know
the British Cabinet's mind, in such matters wrote in
January of this year :

“Some of Mr. Jinnah's recent utterances have given
“the impression that the British policy of defending
“the lawful interests of minorities has encouraged him
“to think that the members of the Muslim League
“are entitled to veto any and every constitutional
“advance simply because they are a minority”.

These two quotations are quite sufficient to disprove
the bogey that the Britishers will help you all to create
two Nations in this Sacred land of ours.

Your leader has been oft repeating that you are
90 millions, in the belief that an untruth, if repeated
many times, will become a truth. The 1931 census
shows that the Muslims number 65,662,868. Unless
you had done some Arabian nights magic you could
not have swelled to 90 millions within a decade. Have
you ever thought how you are distributed in India? You
are 6% in Madras, 8% in Bombay, 4% in Central Provinces,
1% in Orissa, 7% in Behar, 20% in Western Bengal, 80%
in Eastern Bengal, 85% in Western Punjab, 20% in
Eastern Punjab. You are no doubt in an absolute majority
in Sind, Baluchistan and N. W. F. P. But these Provinces
are very poor on account of various circumstances.

All these will show how unevenly you are distributed. *You often forget that we Hindus are still alive in our land and that in a vast majority.* In all your tall talks you seem to forget this arithmetical problem. Do you think that any amount of violence will ever convert this majority into a minority? Hence is it not wise to feel that your fate is vitally associated with India and not with other countries? How can we ever feel for you if you always think that you belong to some other country? Suppose for instance the position is reversed. Instead of you being the 70 millions we are the 70 millions and if we ask for an "equal voice" will you give it? If you refuse, suppose we say, we want to become a separate nation, I am sure you will say "go to hell". If the Egyptian Christians ask for 50% power and representation in Egypt saying that the English, who are Christians, once ruled the country do you think that even the most patriotic Egyptian, with all his desire to bring about unity in Egypt would agree to such a position? Place yourselves in our position and imagine what you would have done? Can you honestly say that you would have been as tolerant as we have been?

Suppose after you realise your Pakistan idea of separate Nation as far as Western Punjab is concerned, the Sikhs succeed in converting the Muslims of that Pakistan, what will become of your Pakistan? So at every time an Indian changes his Religion he must become a separate Nationality! Don't you realise

the laughter which you create amongst foreigners on account of such absurd ideas.

Instead of talking like school boys don't you think that it will be better that you feel even in your own interest that you are an Indian first and a Muslim afterwards? Do not other Muslims living in other countries love foremost the land which gave them birth? Some of your leaders have instilled in your hearts that you are strong and that the Hindus are weak. If you read history written even by Muslims you will realise that this is not true. *All* the Hindus of India have not been cowards just as *All* Muslims have not been brave. Till you get rid of this idea that you, a minority of Indians, can have the upper hand over the Hindus, there can be no friendship with you hereafterwards.

Your leader the other day said after visiting Paneli that among many of his visitors:

"One old man happened to be a Hindu. That Hindu might set an example for British India. His genuine and sincere feelings of cordiality, his innocent and honest talk was most refreshing".

Yes! There are millions of Hindus of this type, who are being driven away from the Muslims on account of the brutal massacres at Malabar, Kohat and Sukkur and the daily kidnappings which take place in various places where the Muslims are in a majority, about which your leader never utters a word of protest. It is such conduct and the arrogant way in which he calls us, the

Hindus as a "superstitious people", which is turning a large number of us to look upon you not as sons of the same soil but as sons of Arabia. In the long run you will realise that this is going to be not beneficial to you. However you are at present not in a mood to agree with us and hence we tell you in the words of Sri Savarkar :

"If you come, with you, if you do not, without you, and if you oppose, in spite of you : we shall continue the good fight to free our Hindusthan as "best as we can".

The same Hindu Leader has said :

"Let us be just and humane to others but let us also see that others also are just and humane towards us ; offending none let us convince the world that none CAN offend us with impunity".

Can there be a juster attitude of a major community ? Think of these brethren and then act. We call you, "Brethren", as most of your ancestors were Hindus. That is why there are thousands of Indian Muslims, who hate the very sight of beef as much as a Hindu. Surely there is nothing in the Holy Quran to state that beef—eating is one of the tenets of Islam, just as there is nothing in it against music before Mosques. If these sentimental items of dispute between the Hindus and Muslims are got rid of, then we will all come nearer to one another to a great extent.

Have you ever read the fundamental tenets of Hinduism, without prejudice ? If you do so you will realise that Hinduism is broad enough to include Islam

also within its fold. You may say that Hindus worship images but you will find that this worship is not a fundamental one even though Hinduism does not object to such worship, just as you all tolerate worship of tombs, Pirs and your Holy Kaaba. Hence you will find that you are not doing any violence to the fundamental tenets of Islam by calling yourselves Muslim-Hindus. There is broad scope for Islam within the all embracing Religion of Hinduism. You cannot but agree that the vast masses of Muslims live peacefully with the Hindus in many Villages till the Muslim Leaguers or some other "leaders" go and rouse their fanaticism against the Hindus. Even now many Muslims follow the Hindu customs during marriage and other ceremonies.

believe that you have no other land except this dear Bharatha Varsha of ours ?

Once you begin to have that natural feeling of human beings, that love of the dear Motherland, that moment we will take you into our fold and christen you Kshatrias ! Then within a generation you will all become Muslim—Hindu—Kshatrias, without in any way going against the important teachings of the Holy Prophet. Can there be more glory for you than to be the Kshatrias of India ? Once you feel in this way the rest of the Hindus will revere you, as most Hindus did in the past the Kshatrias and as they are still respecting their present day descendents. After all Religion is a personal one and a man who wears a dress and calls himself a Muslim does not become one if he does not behave according to the broad tenets of Islam. Hence dear Brethren—most of you were Hindus once and just because you have changed your Religion you cannot become foreigners—call yourself proudly *Kshatrias* and begin to act like Kshatrias. Read the lives of our Rajputs who fought against the invaders. Was that life not noble ? Can we honour you in a better way than to call you Kshatrias and take you into our fold ? But it is a pity that your leaders do not want this to come to pass. But I tell you that once you call yourself Kshatrias that moment the Hindu-Muslim problem will vanish like mists before the powerful sun ! Come on, Brothers, become Kshatrias !

A voice. What a pity there are no Muslims here !

Another voice. You should send a copy of this portion of your talk to Mr. Jinnah (laughter).

Since the Muslims are not at present in a mood to act up to the principle "when they are in Rome do as the Romans do", we have to think and discuss various remedies, which have been put forward to solve this problem.

Coalition Cabinet.

Only one serious suggestion, before the two Nation theory was trotted out, had been made by Muslims and by Dr. C. R. Reddy to solve this problem. Since I have a great admiration for the latter gentleman I very carefully read through his address delivered in the Cochin State to the Youngmen of the Chief College there. It is rather curious that only in the Hindu States all sorts of schemes are brought about, which are ruinous to the Hindus. The suggestion made by Dr. Reddi has been suggested by Mr. Jinnah, long before Dr. Reddi did, in the correspondence, which passed between Pandit Jawaharlal and Mr. Jinnah. It is this. The Muslim League as such should as a matter of right get a place in the cabinet. It is not their grievances that members of the Muslim Community were not chosen as Muslim Ministers but they were not chosen from the *Muslim League* and that in every province they were not given a seat in the Cabinet and this should be done if we are to save a Civil War. In his Deliverance statement, in the Pirpur committee report and in the various statements of Muslim League leaders the story of "atrocities" against

Muslims have been put before the public. Hence before I meet the point of Coalition ministry let me quote what Dr. Reddy, whom Mr Abdul Hamid Khan, a prominent member of the Muslim League at Madras, called their "guide, philosopher and friend", said about this false theory of atrocity :

"Deliberate cruelty is no part of our racial constitution. The Congress is not anti-Muslim. On the contrary, it has tried to favour Muslims to the extent possible consistently with the fundamental methods and objectives..."

Now for the *right* of the Muslim League to be in the Cabinet. If the Muslim League, a minority party, which cannot and does not represent all the Muslims such as Shias, Momins, and so many others, is given a seat in the Cabinet then why not other parties of the Muslims and the Hindus? This no one answers. Mr. Jinnah has been manoeuvring to make himself known as the sole leader of the Muslims and he did not succeed. But our Gandhiji visiting him has given colour to his contention. That is all. Apart from the injustice to other parties if Muslim League is given a preference, a Cabinet composed of Congress and the League can never work smoothly. Take the simple example of Khadder. The Congress swears by it. Though thousands of Muslim weavers are being benefited Mr. Jinnah is against it. Again, the Congress wants to uplift the Harijans by various political, social and religious methods. The Muslims feel that all these acts in favour of Harijans are anti-Muslim

as these will prevent conversion to Muhammadanism! Then, they want Muslim ministers even in Provinces where they are in a negligible minority.

There is another serious proposal which Mr. Jinnah as the leader of the Muslim League has put before the Viceroy. That is, that the Muslim forces should not be sent against other Muslim Nations! So the Hindus must merely submit to the Muslim invaders from the North Western frontiers of India! How can there be any uniformity with such diametrically opposite views? Hence the Congress was certainly right in refusing to take in Muslims, who think in all these ways, into the cabinet. To admit representatives of Muslim League into the Cabinet of the Congress after all these known views of the Muslim Leaguers, is to hand over the Hindus to their enemies, with knives in their hands! If Muslims agree with the ideology of the Hindus, at least in political matters, where it does not affect their religious rights, then and then only they can be admitted into the Cabinet. If this suggestion that every party which claims to represent people is admitted into the Cabinet then it will become a Zoo. Even the Hon'ble Mr. Haq of Bengal said at Lahore that the Coalition ministries are the weakest. On the face of these objections how can there be coalition ministries? Now that the Muslim League has said that they are a separate Nation they should not ask us to take them into the cabinet. Certainly *two* nations cannot be ruling over *one* country! There is one another very very minor point which Mr. Jinnah forgets! With all his vehemence has

he been able to form one Muslim League Ministry in any of the Provinces? (Laughter and cries of No. No.) This one fact is sufficient to completely disprove the theory that the Muslim League represents all the Muslims. So many have brought this matter to the notice of Mr. Jinnah but he has never chosen to reply to this point. Yet our Hindu Raja Mansinga and Todar Mal say that the Congress must bow before Mr. Jinnah!

Danger From Foreign State.

If you study our geographical position and the world politics and the moves made by various countries you will realise that we have no danger from any outside power either by sea, or by air. It is a known fact that these two methods of attack are not very feasible on a distant country. It is easy to attack a neighbour with war ships, air ships and tanks but to go to a distant country from the bases is not at all feasible. However let us see, which of the powers of this world, can come to conquer our country? Will Russia leaving her flanks to be attacked by Japan and the European powers, who do not at all agree with her ideology come over to India? It is an impossibility. This fear of Russia has been in India for more than half a century and yet Russia has not taken one single step to accomplish it. *Whether she has such ideas or not it is not yet known.* But it is absolutely certain that she will be ruining herself in coming to distant India when there are enemies waiting to crush her in her own land. The moment she brings a large force to India, that moment

she will be in difficulties in her own land. Hence we need not at all fear Russia.

Will Germany and Italy jointly attack us? You will find that Germany becomes a cripple after this war. Even if she is not absolutely and thoroughly defeated she will have enough of trouble in Europe for half a century and she will have no time to think of India. Italy, with its white elephant of Abyssenia, with Turkey on one side watching her, will never dream of coming over to India. It has never been suggested that either France or America is ever likely even to dream of attacking India. Japan has caught a Tartar in China. She will be fully occupied there.

Then where is the danger to us? It is from the North Western Frontiers with the chance of Muslim Leaguers helping a foreign Muslim invader to create a Pakistan. I have already pointed out that the chain of Muslim countries is not united and each have separate governments. Mr. H. N. Brailsford, a learned and shrewd observer of men and things and who has been travelling all over the world recently wrote referring to the chain of Muslim countries from the Black Sea to India that:

“To call it a Muslim block is a mistake. Their Muslim faith dictates the behaviour of these peoples, as the Sermon on the Mount governs ours. The Turks in the last 20 years, have turned nationalists and modernists; and good Muslims deplore their impious ways. A brief sojourn in

"Persia a few years ago gave me the sharp, impression that this people is dominated to-day "not by religion, but by nationalism".

By a further study of the present day attitude of these Muslim countries you will find that at least in the near future they are not likely to get enthusiastic over an invasion on our country; yet the Indian Muslim Leaguer is always whetting the curiosity of the Muslim masses by saying that these Muslim States are one with them and that is why the army should not be used against them. On account of this mentality there is some amount of danger.

A Buffer State ?

What is the remedy ? The Britishers have, I think, failed to put a stop to the dacoities and murders which go on in the North Western Frontier, even though a very large part of our revenue is being spent there. Hence when the Chatfield Committee came to India I sent a long memorandum arguing all the pros and cons of the defence of the country and suggested to them to create a buffer state of non-muslims from the North Western extremity of Kashmir to the South Western extremity of Sind. For 500 miles from the borders, the Muslim population of India should be evacuated and the Sikhs, Rajputs and Gurhas should be populated there. (Laughter) I had further suggested that this Buffer State with all its members should be maintained by a special tax on the rest of India.

If Pakisthan and the different zones are practical

propositions, I do not see why this also should not be a practical proposition? I forgot to suggest that there should be a corridor from Punjab to Nepal so that the Hindu Gurkhas may march their armies through that corridor to the Western and North Western Frontiers (further laughter). It may all look Don quixotic but it is in no way more Don quixotic than the schemes of the Muslim League. I do not know what Lord Chatfield thought about it. I only received an acknowledgment that my memorandum had been placed before the Committee. Another suggestion has recently been put forward by the Hindu Mahasabha i. e. to build a Maginot line. It is only another form of my idea regarding Buffer State. I think the British Government should impartially consider some such proposal especially as the Muslims want that the Army should not be used against Muslim Countries. Of course this will take a long time as the British must first of all become convinced of the usefulness and efficacy, either of Buffer State or Maginot line.

An Appeal to Afghanistan.

I have been thinking of another method of defence. Our Muslim Leaguers take it for granted that His Majesty the Amir of Afghanistan will be only too willing to help them against the Hindus. Afghanistan is now in the hands of a young Ruler, who had been trained in Western countries. I feel sure that the Ruler will have nothing but contempt for men, who are ready to betray the country of their birth. I am thinking

of inducing some Hindu organisation to send a memorandum through the Afghan Consul General to His Majesty the King of Afghanistan pointing out how the Muslims are using the name of Afghanistan, and how this creates suspicions amongst the Hindus about Afghanistan, with which our country is having good trade. The memorandum should point out that the Indian Muslims are very unfairly proclaiming that the subjects of His Majesty will help them against the Hindus. We must give extracts from the speeches of various Muslim Leaders to support our point. We should request His Majesty's Government should be pleased to state that this propaganda is without any foundation or support from Afghanistan and those who create such propaganda should be treated as enemies of Afghanistan as they are trying to spoil the good relations between Afghanistan and India. I feel that some such effort should be taken to prick this bubble of the Pakisthan movement. I have had talks with certain Afghans and I have been assured that it is all a moonshine. However, it is better that this matter is taken up in earnest by us and after consultation with others and if necessary even with Military officials, we must take some step so that the Muslim masses may not be misguided by these leaders, whose one armour is to prejudice them against the Hindus by telling them that their Religion is in Danger.

Our Weakness.

Have you ever thought about the reasons for the lolling attitude of Mr. Jinnah towards the Hindus?

Whenever he speaks about our brethren the Sikhs he calls them :

“The great community,”

I am glad of this as the Sikhs are our brethren. But why does he call them in that way and why does he call us :

“A superstitious people thoroughly antagonistic to each other ?”

If he really believes we are such a people how can he think that there can be a “Hindu Raj”? The real reason is he feels that the Sikhs will resist not with non-violence, for which Mr. Jinnah has got a supreme contempt, but with the mailed fists of their stalwart bodies. That is the secret. Hence friends, whether we are physically weak or not let us make ourselves strong. Let us create Bimas, Arjunas, Abimanyus in every village. That is the only remedy for preventing this Grave Danger to us. Swami Vivekananda has in clear language told us that :

“We suffer because we are weak. We die because we are weak.....Men, men, these are wanted : everything else will be ready but strong, vigorous believing young men, sincere to the back bone, are wanted.....What we want is strength, so believe in yourselves.....Centuries and centuries, a thousand years of crushing tyranny of castes and kings and foreigners and your own people have taken out all your strength my brethren ! Your back bone is broken, you are like down trodden worms : Let me tell you strength, strength is

"what we want. Believe, I am the soul. Me the
 "sword cannot cut : no weapons pierce . me the fire
 "cannot burn . me the air cannot dry : I am the
 "Omnipotent, I am the Omniscient."

So spoke the great fighting Swamijee, quoting Gita.
 Would to God we have 1000 such Sanyasies ! All our
 sorrows and trouble will vanish in a day.

CHAPTER IV.

Our Princes.

I repeat that if we had a number of Sanyasies like
 Swami Vivekananda our sorrows will disappear. But
 there is another class of people who are our leaders also.
 Next to the Religious people, we Hindus have been
 taught to revere the Kshatrias. There is no other
 country in the whole world, wherein kings of old, who
 had ruled the country 8000 or 1000 years ago are still
 existent in their descendants, with some traces of their
 old traditions, except in our Motherland. I say "some
 traces" advisedly. If we had the true Hindu Rulers of
 old our country would never have come to this pitiable
 position. Just as our Sanyasies and Religious people
 have forgotten their duties by their Religion and country,
 it is the fate of Mother India that another set of her
 sons should have forgotten their duties also. I am not
 one of those, who think that our Kshatria Rulers are an
 anachronism in the 20th century and that they should
 all be pensioned off. Whatever their faults may be we

must remember that they have noble blood and a great heritage. We cannot brush aside the traditions of ages of noble families and put in their places demagogues, who are ready to play upon the follies of people. We have it in our blood to respect nobility and high birth. When I say "high birth" I do not mean, birth in a caste, but birth in the family of noble traditions. Most of our Maharajas have that somewhere in their ancestors. But alas! Our Kshatriyas have fallen from their high ideals. I do not feel disheartened at the fact that they have all become, subordinates to Britain of 5000 miles away. But what I am sorry to find is that they have become subordinates to low ideals and passions. They are not even aware of the rules and traditions set before them by our ancestors.

An Incident.

There is none to remind them of their great heritage just as Swami Dayananda Saraswathi did. Perhaps, you do not remember that great incident. I forget now, who was that Maharaja to whose court the Swami went. The Swami bare footed walked to the court of the Maharaja. When the latter saw him he immediately got down from his throne and gave a seat to the Swami and washed his feet with his own hands, while the Maharani poured pure water at the bidding of her Lord. While he was doing so the Maharaja said "Swamijee your feet are hard". Immediately the Swami replied "Maharaj, Sanyasies feet are always hard, like mine but you are only accustomed to touch the feet of dancing girls, who had never placed their bare feet on the ground!" (laughter).

Then the Śwami reminded the Maharaja that he was a Hindu Kshatria with high ideals and that he should not act as such.

Kshatria Ideals.

High, noble and difficult were the ideals placed before our Kshatrias. Did not Maharaja Dasaratha send away his beloved children to the forest at the demand of a Maharihi? Did not another Maharaja Sibi cut off flesh after flesh from his body and was even prepared to sacrifice his whole body to save a dove from a kite? Did not a great Hindu Chola Ruler allow his car to run over his own son as the son had crushed with his car the calf of a cow? Did not yet another Hindu Pandya Ruler leave off his mortal coil as soon as he found that he had ordered the execution of the husband of a chaste woman, without proper enquiry? Did not Harischandra leave off his kingdom, wife and child just to save his plighted word? Innumerable are the instances showing the greatness, nobility, prowess and generosity of our HINDU Kings. I am not a blind enthusiast of a Hindu, and hence do not think that I am exaggerating when I say that no other History in the whole world, either mythological, ancient or modern, which gives such instances of nobility. When our Kshatrias, the protectors of our Dharma, our lives, our properties and our honour, fell from their high ideals, that day the country became a prey to foreigners. How I wish I had the spiritual power of our Rishi ancestors to turn our Kshatrias once again to such ideals! Not having that power I merely refer to them.

In the Santi Parva of Mahabharatha, it is said :

“As all creatures would sink in utter darkness, if the Sun and the Moon did not shine, so men would have no light to guide their steps by, if the King did not rule. Without a king the position of men would be like that of a herd of cattle without a herdsman. If the king did not exercise the duty of protection, the strong would forcibly appropriate the possession of the weak. All kinds of properties even wives, sons and daughters would cease to exist. Every part of the country would be overrun by robbers : all restrictions about marriage would cease : agriculture and trade would fall into confusion : morality would be lost : the Vedas would disappear : sacrifices would no longer be performed : society itself would cease to exist : famine would ravage the country : and all kinds of injustice would set in”.

The same Epic lays down a number of principles for the guidance of kings. If any of our Maharajas were to follow these principles then the people would worship him as an Avatar.

Swami Dayananda Saraswathi, in his Satyarth Prakas has quoted the great law giver Manu and the Gita as giving eleven important duties of a Kshatriya. They are :

1. “To protect people by the administration of perfect justice without fear or favour.
2. “To spend money in furthering the cause of

“truth and justice and in advancing knowledge and
“serving the deserving

3. “To perform Homa and other Yajnaa.

4. “To study the Vedas and other Shastras

5. “To shun the allurements of sensual gratification
“by perfect control of the senses and thereby constantly
“augment the powers of the body and soul.

6. “To be fearless in fighting with enemies
“though they be in thousands and he be single-
“handed.

7. “To be bold and dignified and free from all
“weakness

8 “To be firm of resolution and cool under
“difficulties

9 “To be clever in the discharge of public duties
“and in the pursuit of studies and never to run
“away from the field of battle i. e to fight in such
“a way as to ensure victory.

10 “To be liberal minded.

11. “To be just in dealing with all and always to
“keep the word”.

‘ Their Fallen Position

Since our Kshatriya Rulers at present have no
necessity to fight in the way in which our ancestors had
to do, they can certainly carry out all other duties
mentioned in the Gita and by Manu But have we got
one Ruler of this kind in the whole of India? I have

been reading about most of the Rulers of the major Indian States and it is my great sorrow that I am unable to point out even one, who approaches these ideals placed by our Religion before them.

A voice : "Then, why do you want to continue their existence?" (Laughter).

I was about to put myself the same question and answer it. You have anticipated me. In reply, I need only say that most of them are Hindus and that is one of the reasons and myself being a Hindu first, Hindu second and Hindu last, I want to preserve our great traditions and our nobility, I have not yet lost hope and I inwardly feel that our Great Lord, Sri Krishna will not fail to turn our Kshatriyas into a great and noble path. But the circumstances also have to be viewed when we criticise them. The British arm completely protects them as long as they do not in any way tread upon the toe of our Rulers. As Lord Reading wrote to the Nizam that :

"Where imperial interests are concerned it is with the paramount power that the ultimate responsibility of taking remedial action must lie".

Hence as long as they do not oppose imperial interests they can do anything, provided it does not become an open scandal. Further, we find that a large number of our Rulers do not know what Hinduism is and what are the duties of Kshatriyas are. I doubt very much whether there will be even a half a dozen Hindu

Rulers in India, who have read the whole of the Ramayana, the Mahabharatha and the Bhagavatam, if not in Sanskrit at least in the respective languages of their States, from cover to cover. If our Kshatrias will only read and try to follow the various aspects of view given to us in those books, what a noble heritage they will leave to their future progeny ! Instead of reading our books they are made to read all sorts of non-sensical English novels and learn all about love making and dancing partners !

Wrong Education

If our young future Rulers are sent over to foreign countries with absolutely different civilizations, hostile to our ideals, and guided by men and women, who have no love for our religion and history how can we expect them to be *Hindu* Rulers ? They should be under stern Viswamithras and Dayanand-Saraswathies, who are moved by the ideals of Hinduism and not under foreigners, who may look upon them as "Native" princes, who have to bow before the English Political agents. Of course the English tutor has to teach certain things to the future Ruler, such as modern methods of administration, political strategy and the correct methods of bowing in Darbars. As Gandhiji once pointed out, a Ruler was about to lose his gadi for not learning the correct angle of bowing before H. M. the King Emperor ! Let them learn all these by all means. They are suffering for their past Karma but that does not mean that they should not be real Kshatrias in other respects. If I have the power I will not allow

any Prince of India to go out of India at least till he has attained the age of 40 years and before he has travelled all over India from the Himalayas to Kanyakumari and before he has visited all the important sacred places of our Barathavarsha and before he has completely studied the needs and aspirations of his people. I would ask in the words of * justice M. Venkatasuba Rao, :

“Can anyone say that in the continent of India
“one cannot get a place where the children of our
“princes cannot be properly educated ?”

Foreign Travel and Education.

It is said that foreign travels will widen their outlook. It is all a nonsense. We have found that foreign travels lure them to Cinema Stars. During last Christmas my whole frame shook with anger when I saw the pictures of the so called Hindu Rulers with Cinema Stars! The descendants of our Solar and Lunar dynasties in the hands of Western Cinema Stars! Oh! What a tragedy! The Paramount Power does not question them for such and other improper conduct. But if a prince were to show any leanings towards the political leaders of British India he will be a marked man.

Have you ever heard of H. M. the King Emperor hob nobbing with Cinema Stars? Never. When they go to foreign countries they learn nothing that is useful either for themselves or for their people. Most of them come back worse men and women. Even some of our

* His Lordship uttered these words regarding the proposal of sending the children of late Raja of Vijayanagaram to England for Education.

Kshatria women, who have the ideal of a Sita¹ and Padmini before them, have lost so much of their *Hindutva* that some of them are found to be dancing with foreigners in dancing halls! Oh! 'The shame of it all, friends' How low we have fallen! Would they have dared to do these in olden days? That moment they would have been dethroned. I say that it is a fiction to state that only by going over to foreign countries that they can widen their outlook. You can learn everything about any important town of Europe, America or Jāpan through pictures and books. 'I think I can give you an hour's lecture about Paris though I have never visited it. (Laughter). There are books, which you can read and pictures you can see and with these you can bes fool an audience and make them think that you have actually visited these places. Hence it is an arrant nonsense to say that by sending our young Princes outside India that they will become better rulers.

We find that some of our young and old Princes, who go out of India become almost lost to the religion of their forefathers and they come back with cinema stars—of course with the noble idea of giving a great impetus to this industry—(laughter) and with other very expensive habits. Again, do these young Princes who are taught in India itself become real Kshatrias, being proud of their country? I am sorry that we do not see any sign of such a change in them

. A Maharaja's Testimony.

A Maharaja in the Magazine, *Princely India*, 1932

about the education which is imparted to these Princes that :

“The present system of training the young Princes obtaining now in these schools and colleges is hardly calculated to fuse into or inspire in the royal children a sense of manly virtues such as patriotism, nobility, fraternity and self-respect, apart from making them capable administrators. From the result, so far seen it is universally admitted that the education imparted in the colleges to the Rajkumars in India does stunt the growth of a free and full manhood in them”.

The same Maharaja adds that :

“Abuse of physical strength is certainly not one of the ways of begetting a good son. And yet the first dawn of youth finds a Prince smothered by beautiful girls very considerably thrown on his path by people, who desire to advance themselves in his estimation”.

Education in Ancient India.

Such a thing would not have been allowed in our ancient India. The Princes were under a terrible discipline. Our ancestors knew that to be a Ruler is no easy joke. The man, who has to look after his country, as the Ruler has to be a superman with a stern and pure character. Otherwise how could he draw the admiration and willing obedience of his people and how can he get the blessings of God? Our Epics

clearly give us detailed ideas how the sons of Dasaratha and Pandu and a host of others were trained from their childhood onwards. We have in Sivaji Maharaja another ideal. Even the worst of his critics have not alluded even vaguely that his private life was anything but pure. He was never known to have even the desire of catching hold of any beautiful girl in his kingdom. He never dreamt of doing any such outrages even on the captives of war. There are many such instances in the history of Rajputs. But our Princes have lost those ideals. I do not say that every Prince in India has fallen. Fortunately or unfortunately I have had no occasion to meet any Prince up to now. If I were to meet any one I am sure to open my heart and tell him with due respect, how low the Kshatrias have fallen. Our Princes, just like Caesar's wife, must be above suspicion. No doubt modern life and especially after the Western impact the high value of that unsullied chastity, which is exemplified by Sree Rama, Sita and Savitri have no doubt fallen low in our country. But if we are to regenerate as a great Nation we have to go back to our ideals; otherwise there is no hope of our rising again. Apart from the moral aspect of this matter, our Kshatrias have fallen in their fine physical demeanour and prowess, which used to be the admiration of all. Their very physical features, the Royal grace dancing on their faces, proclaimed that they were superior men. But that generation of Princes are slowly vanishing. I do not know how we can regain this great vanishing glory of India. It is not in their

hands to become the *Rajadhi Rajas* of India, but is it difficult for them to live a pure life, a life of service to their people looking to Sree Krishna for help ?

Sri Krishna and Gopies.

A voice : “Can we put Sri Krishna as an Ideal man before our Princes ? ” (laughter)

This very question shows how low we have fallen even though every one of those present here is educated. Perhaps, my friend is putting this question to provoke me knowing my love and faith in Sri Krishna. I refuse to be provoked. There is no time and further this is not the opportunity for me to speak about that aspect of the life of Sri Krishna. There is a deep misconception about that part of the life of Sri Krishna subtly propagated by hostile Religious preachers. Since my friend has put me that question, I shall only reply by putting another question.

“Can a human being manage and live with 16000

“Gopis, in such a way as to make every one
“intensely love him as Sri Krishna did” ?

This one fact, looking from a low point of view must make even those, who cast such aspersions on Sri Krishna think that he must be a super Divine man, if not a Divinity. Times without number it has been explained about this aspect of the life of Sri Krishna. But I think my friend does not want me to lose my trend of thoughts by side-tracking me.

A voice : “No. No. You have brutally made me look upon this aspect of Sri Krishna's life in a new light altogether”.

Modern Kshatriyas.

With your permission, Friends, let me go back to my subject proper. I said that our Princes should look to Sri Krishna for guidance. His teachings in the Gita and the way in which He acted in the politics of His times give a thousand lessons to our Princes. Yet most of the Princes do not take any serious interest in such teachings and the States are left in the hands of some Dewan or other officer, whose main concern is receiving a large pay. He looks to the business of governing the territory according to his whims and fancies, taking every care that his position is strengthened at every step. He is very careful to see that the needs of the Ruler are not put in jeopardy and that he is above wants, according to the high standard of lives, which our Princes live. It is proved beyond any manner of doubt that many of our Princes spend more money on themselves than H.M. King George the VI does. Some of them have a number of very costly cars, which neither the present King Emperor nor his predecessors ever possessed. It is only on rare occasions they take any interest in the actual governing of the country. After all, these States are not very large and a Prince, if he so wills it, can certainly take interest in most of the important actions taken in the States. Yet a large number of them never do so. They are bent upon their own pleasures; travels etc. etc. etc. Even such a moderate like the Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastry says that:

"A great many of the Princes are not to be seen
"in their palaces. They are to be seen anywhere

“where enjoyment can be bought with their people’s money. You go to London, you go to Paris, you go to all fashionable cities, and you meet some ‘Indian Raja or other, dazzling the people of ‘Europe and corrupting those who go near them”.

Such is the verdict of a person, who is known to measure every word he utters.

A Voice : “Excuse me. You seem to be a bundle of contradictions in this part of your talk. (Laughter). How can you ever reasonably support for the continued existence of such Princes about whom even Mr. Sastry speaks in this strain ?”

I think, friends, every one of us, nay, every human being, is full of contradictions. (Laughter). I admit I am also of the same weak human being. Our ability contains in diluting the contradictions and trying to suppress them.

Divine Right.

In this matter of the Princes, if you are a little bit patient, you will realise that I am expressing a practical point of view. I may say that my angle of vision regarding this aspect of matter is influenced by two main points. First, I look upon the Rulers of Indian States as our Natural Leaders and I feel that they are in their positions on account of having done some good act in their previous births. Our Hindu rulers sincerely believe that they are what they are, on account of their past good Karma. Sir Francis Younghusband writing

in the *London Times* says that :

“Every Maharaja believes himself to be a Maharaja by Divine right. Through having ‘achieved merit in a previous incarnation,’ ‘he has been reincarnated by God as a Maharaja in ‘the present life...He may be a bad man in many ‘ways : still he is imbued with the fundamental sense ‘of dependance upon the Divine.”

If the Princes base their views on this fact, then we need only request them, with all respect, that they should act up to it. Can a person, who asserts his rights on this :

“Fundamental basis of dependance upon the ‘Divine”

act unfairly, immorally, and without any justice? Apart from this fact, may we not remind them that they are what they are, on account of past good Karma and hence as sure as night follows the day, their future births will not be of the same type, unless their present actions are of the divine type. This is a simple proposition, which even a child will understand. Hence the life, which our Princes are alleged to lead and the treatment, which they are alleged to meet out to their subjects, including the respected ladies of the palaces by neglecting them, cannot go unpunished. *They are sure to be reborn in misery and penury and will suffer untold difficulties.* It is said that the tears of suffering women will be more sharp than the finest of swords. They are sure to bring more ruin than any other crime. Believing as our Princes do that they had

want to play on the snow, go to Kashmir and Darjeeling or Simla. Do you want to be roasted alive, by the heat of the sun, go to the deserts of Rajputana or some other place in India. Do you want to be drenched in pouring rains go to Malabar or Assam. Do you want a bracing climate, go to the Nilgiris. Do you want to get the sea air, travel from any of the important ports of India from the West to the East or from East to West, entering Ceylon for a day or two. With our grand Himalayas and the Mother Ganges, can any one honestly like to go out of India for the sake of "health"? If there are such Indians I have no hesitation in praying for their deaths as they will be a good riddance from the face of our land. (Laughter).

Natural Leaders.

I quoted Swami Vivekananda, who said :

"Strong, vigorous believing young men, sincere
"to the back bone are wanted".

It is well known that heredity is a great criterion in creating such men. Our Kshatrias have a heredity, which if properly guided, will create the men for whom the great Swami cried in vain. You must remember that the Swami was a Kshatria. He had travelled on foot from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin and from Peshawar to Assam before he left India for America. He had visited a number of Hindu States and had studied them and the lives lived by the Rulers. Yet such heart-rendering words he expressed at not being able to get the real men for the work of the Motherland. I said a while ago that the Kshatrias are our natural

leaders. This is what I meant: that they have the germs of leadership in them. Every Ruler according to our conception is a leader of his subjects. The fact that they do not take that golden opportunity to become the loved ones of their people, in every way, is their fault.

The Viceroy's Advice.

In January this year H. E. the Viceroy at Raipur said that :

“One of the obligations of nobility whether of
“class or character, is leadership”.

True and pregnant words indeed ! That is what our Sastras have said ever since the Kshatrias were created. Nay, not only our Kshatrias were our leaders but they have been the mediums through whom God had incarnated in our land. They have been our Philosophers. Is there a greater philosopher than Sree Krishna in the whole world ? Was not Shree Krishna the greatest of Kshatrias ? Was not Janaka, a Raja Rishi ? But alas ! Just as in the realm of Sanyasies we have not even one or two Vasishtas, or Visvamithras, in the same way we have no real Kshatrias of the old type in these days. What is this curse on our land ? Why are we becoming bereft of our natural leaders ? This is a mystery to me. Some of you are likely to think that I am a sentimental man, with a love for Hinduism and all that it stands for, whether right or wrong. Not at all. I am not the only one, who thinks so. I have already quoted the Viceroy.

A Dewan's View.

Now let me quote Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chetty, a Dewan, who is a follower of one "Periyar" in South India, who is an Atheist and who is an anti-god man. This "Periyar" has been the most vehement accuser of Hindu Religion and he has been proclaiming that before he dies he would become a Muslim. (a voice: Let him become soon one and it will be good riddance to Hindu society) It is such a leader, who is the "leader" to this Dewan. Hence from the Guru you can understand the sishya. I only refer to this aspect to show that this Dewan could not be said to be a lover of Hinduism or its tenets, and yet his views are akin to mine.

God's ways are mysterious. Such a person was called upon to be the Dewan of a most orthodox Hindu Maharaja and he accepted it. He willingly carries out the orthodoxy of the Maharaja. You see how our Sri Krishna punishes men? I may also say that I know of a Congress Minister, who three years before he became a Minister, voted against any address being presented to Mahatmajee in a local body. Yet, God punished him by making him a Minister under Gandhiji's auspices. The said Dewan once said:

"I am beginning to wonder whether, after all, the
"correct process may not be in the interests of
"democracy in India, to split up all Provinces and
"hand them over to some Rulers, because I feel that
"in a State with the guidance of an impartial and
"wise Ruler, there is really a greater safety to r

'minorities and various other interests than in a "constitution in which Democracy runs amok".

Such sentiments were given the *imprimatur* by a Hindu Dewan of another Orthodox State, who cannot be said to be an anti-Hindu Religious man and who cannot at all be called an Anti-god man. He said that "a great Statesman" referring to this opinion of Mr. Chetty, had expressed that India should be divided amongst the Rulers of the State and that he clearly approved of such a scheme! I refer to Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer.

Viswamithra and Vasishta !

When I think of the appreciation of Sir C. P. Ramaswami for Sir R. K. Shanmukham, I am reminded of the old story in which Maharishi Viswamithra would not be satisfied till Maharishi Vasishta acknowledged him as a Brahma Rishi! Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chetty, in spite of being a *sishya* of "Periyar", can console himself that he had been praised by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer! Please do not take this analogy to any further length than I mean it. I do not by any means want you to infer that either of these two persons are equal to the two great Rishies in any way (laughter) I do not mean any disparagement to these two able Hindus but I only want that you should not go away with the idea that I am thinking these two great Hindu Statesmen as great Rishies (laughter). I am sorry I have again gone at a tangent. I quoted Mr. Chetty to prove that he also in a way, believes that our Rulers are our Natural leaders. That is my only point in quoting

him and for my reference to Mr. Ayyar's approval of such an idea.

Division of India into Indian States.

This idea that India may be parcelled out to various Indian Rulers is not a new one. I remember to have read the same idea in Sir Valentine Chirol's book entitled "Indian Unrest or Unrest in India", published more than a quarter century ago. But may I ask you whether you would like to exchange the British Rule to the Rule of our Maharajas? (Cries of No. No) I myself belong to an Indian State in the sense that I was born and bred up to the age of 7 or 8 in an Indian State and I have a number of relations in that State. Yet, in spite of all these I feel for Hinduism, I am sorry I have to agree with you that none of us will be willing to change our Rulers from the British to the rule of the Maharajas. Is it not a very sad commentary on our love for Hinduism and all that it stands for? I said that human beings are a bundle of contradictions and here is another instance of our contradictions! Let us look at the cause of this contradiction and let us try to dilute it and bring about a compromise.

Our Distrust of the Rulers.

The main reason is that our belief that our Princes are not of the standard of Kshatriyas about whom we read in our Epics and Histories. Suppose there is a Ruler like Sri Rama, Dharmaputra, Asoka or Mauneeethi Chola, I am absolutely certain that every one of us will not raise even our little finger in opposition

to such a Ruler. If such Rulers were possible in olden days is it a too impossible an ideal to say that we can yet create such rulers? In one word I would say the qualification of such a ruler is "Character". If a Ruler possesses all that it connotes, then we have accomplished our desire. I think the expression "Dharma Raja" explains better than the word "character" our ideas of a ruler. But unfortunately, modern conditions and the Western civilization have clouded the great ideals of Hinduism and are a stumbling block to our regeneration. If only our Rulers will see that their Yuvarajas and Rajkumars are put under a terrible discipline as the children of Dasaratha and Pandu were, within a decade a new generation of Princes will be rising and every one of them will be "men" as required by Swami Vivekananda. Then in that case I feel certain that we would like to be under the rule of our Maharajas. There are many advantages, which our Maharajas have which the British Rulers have not got. We will feel that the interests of the Ruler are not beyond the borders of our land and that the Ruler is an Indian, which will please our sentiment. Besides this feeling there are many other circumstances, which will induce us to submit to the rule of our Maharajas.

Their Enormous Advantages.

I realise that I am only imagining a condition which has no chance of ever becoming fructified unless a cataclysm happens in India. Hence to come from idealism to practicalism let us see how our Hindu Rulers

situated as they are can carry out this ideal within the borders of their territories. There are a great many advantageous conditions in their favour. They need not at all be anxious that there is any fear of an enemy coming and invading their territories. As long as Mumthas and Bawlas do not become a public scandal, there are no anxieties at all for them. They have no necessity to find out ways and means of living comfortable lives. Their territories are not huge, such as that of British India. I think, within a few hours even the largest Indian State can be crossed from one border to the other, without any discomfort either by rail or by motor. They have absolute authority and which none can dare to disobey and in fact they can all be better and nobler Hitlers within their own borders. I use this analogy as I am unable to find a better one.

To compare our Hindu Rulers with the British Crown will be a false analogy as the King Emperor does not possess such an absolute power as that of our Hindu Rulers. Let me make my point clear by quoting certain instances. H. H. the Maharaja of Travancore on that eventful day of 12th November 1936 proclaimed that:

"Profoundly convinced of the truth and validity
"of our Religion, believing that it is based on divine
"guidance..."

that the Harijans, who had been excluded from the Temples should be allowed into them. You see hereby one stroke of the pen of a Maharaja, a Reform about which Gandhiji truly said :

"That when all else about Travancore is forgotten,

“this one act of the Maharaja, the Proclamation
“will be remembered by future generations with
“gratitude”

was brought about. Again you see that in spite of inter connections between Travancore and Cochin H. H. the Maharaja of Cochin would not budge an inch regarding this matter. I admire equally the old Maharaja of Cochin as I do of the young Maharaja of Travancore. (A voice. Another instance of your contradiction! Laughter).

Great Opportunities for Service.

It may appear a contradiction but if you view it from my angle of vision it is not at all a contradiction. I am here emphasising the fact that it is within the will of our Hindu Rulers to do any act which they wish, provided they have a sincere desire to do so. Even British Rulers in India dare not do such an act as that of the Maharaja of Travancore. Hence this treasure house of Power can be used either for good or for evil. The Cochin Maharaja, an old Hindu of about 75 years, stood firmly to his convictions, in spite of his having a Dewan with known advanced views. This shows that a Maharaja could carry out his wishes provided he determines to do so. That is the point I am emphasising.

Cow, The Mother of Health.

Suppose our Maharajas determine for a year that they will reduce their Royal expenses by 50% and would command all their officers who receive a pay

of more than Rs. 100 per month to contribute at least a certain percentage, say 10 to 15% of their pay towards a fund to be utilised for supplying pure cow's milk daily to all children in their States, what a tremendous impetus will be given to the healthy growth of children in every village, the care of the cows and the growth of fodder for cattle within a year! You would have noted that H. E. the Viceroy has been ever since he came to India, devoting a sincere attempt to supply milk to the children. I have known certain high Hindu officials laughing at the "old fashioned" ideas of the Viceroy. These fellows have not even a grain of common sense. They do not understand the great service the Viceroy has been doing in this single instance. Have you known our Maharajas taking such an interest in cows even after the example of the Viceroy? At least I have not read of any one having done so. If every family in the State is in a position to rear at least a cow, I would say that State is the ideal State in the whole world. We have often read in our stories and other books that to describe a kingdom as a prosperous one is to state that it is one, where milk and honey flows like water.

Cow, the Sign of Prosperity.

I do not want to go into the religious and humane aspects of the protection of the cow but I want to emphasise its economical and self protective aspects. Can any one, even the worst Muslim butcher, deny that without cow's milk many a child will die? If a butcher's wife dies leaving a baby, who gives its

sustenance? It is the cow. The advanced researches by Western Scientists have clearly demonstrated that the people, who take plenty of milk are physically strong and are healthy. It is the want of milk that is the cause of the weak physique of Indians. The Nutrition research Institute under General Dr. McCarrison has proved beyond doubt that the vast majority of people in India do not take milk at all and that unless this is remedied there can be no healthy growth of people. This is the position in the country, where cow is worshipped as the mother of plenty! I can understand this position in British India but such a position to exist in the Hindu States is abominable and entirely disgraceful. (Cheers).

It may look to those, who do not see beyond their noses that there can be no connection between the rearing of cows and bees and the prosperity of a country. Can a man rear a cow or a colony of bees in a country, which is a desert and is barren of green fields? Who will have the willingness and enthusiasm to look after a cow and a colony of bees if he is starving? It has been calculated that for pasturage for each cow at least an acre of land is required and for a drop of honey the bees have to visit 120 flowers. Hence cows and bees cannot exist in abundance in a country where people are not happy, and prosperous.

In order to rear a cow the house-holder must be in possession of certain area of land to house it and take care of it. Either he must possess plenty of pasture land or the Ruler should arrange that such lands are

made available to the people. The manure of the cows will, unlike chemical manures, enrich the soil and plenty of agricultural crops will be raised. When the agriculturists are prosperous there will be plenty of food materials and money. All these will flow from the habit of rearing cows by all householders! Unless the Rulers take an intense interest in the rearing of cows, just like the Viceroy does, the States can never be prosperous. I would even go to the length of saying that just as education, landed property, paying of taxes are qualifications for a Voter to the Legislature, that all those who have reared a cow for the previous year should be registered as voters. (Cheers).

The Why of the People's Rule.

I for one will prefer a Ruler, who has succeeded in helping every citizen to drink milk daily than a Ruler who gives democratic constitution. Such a Ruler can certainly be said to take an interest "in the daily life of their subjects" to quote the Viceroy. It was a remarkable address, which H. E. the Viceroy delivered opening the Princes's Chamber in March 1939. If one carefully reads the address one cannot but come to the conclusion that the Viceroy was not at all satisfied with the way in which the Rulers were conducting the affairs of their States. It was full of pregnant thoughts and hence you will excuse me if I quote here a few portions from it. If the Viceroy felt it a necessity to speak on these matters in polite language you may infer that the Viceroy was in possession of more information than he thought it

necessary to reveal by those words. It is because the Rulers *do not* show that great interest, which they are by their Religion and even by the advice of the Viceroy, are bound to take, people agitate for popular rule, instead of monarchical rule. Have our Hindu Rulers ever thought the reason why, their own subjects, whom they and their ancestors have been ruling, look to a Gandhi, a Nehru or a Pattabi? What is there in their personalities, which attract their own subjects? Does it not look unnatural that their own subjects, who should look upon them as their "father" should look beyond His Highness for their ideal and help? Is it due to the innate ungratefulness of their subjects? It cannot be as the subjects of our Native States are evidently very grateful even to the slightest favour shown to them. Is it due to any extraordinary ability of these "outside" leaders? Not at all. In fact certain Dewans of Indian States are more capable and practical than these leaders. But the important thing, which is lacking in the States is sympathy and the love for human beings, who are suffering. If the Ruler were to show these and sees that his Dewans and other officers behave themselves, I feel sure that none of their subjects would like to transfer their Raja's rule to that of the Britisher and of the legislatures. The quotations, which I now give from the Viceroy, clearly enunciate what the Rulers should do. This ideal put by the Viceroy is nothing more than the ideals placed before our Rulers by our Saasthras. The Viceroy has only described them in modern language.

The Personal Touch.

"Your Highness's will agree with me that it is
"equally, as clearly in the interests of all Rulers,
"as it is their plain and manifest *duty* to ensure by
"their own *personal interest* in the affairs of their
"State, *in the work* of their officials, and in the *daily*
"*life of their subjects*, that those subjects have cause
"for content, that they are not allowed *to suffer undue*
"*exactions*, either on behalf of the State, itself or at
"the call of *unworthy officials*, and that all genuine
"*grievances receive prompt and active consideration*" (All italics mine).

If a Ruler is addicted too much to the fiery liquor and to the viles of all sorts of women, and if he is absolutely ignorant of the traditions of Kshatrias and the needs and sufferings of his people how can he ever exercise all these powers, which the Viceroy wants him to exercise? Unless he is able, pure and sincere he cannot be a proper Kshatria Ruler.

King Janaka's Teachings.

To be a Ruler of a State and a large number of human beings, with varied interests, is no joke. Hence it is I said that the training to be given to the Rajkumars should be under severe discipline. In the modern colleges and schools these Kshatrias are taught many things, which may or may not be useful to them as future rulers: but as far as my enquiry goes one thing is not at all taught to them and that one thing is the most important thing. I mean control over their own

minds and thoughts. You may all remember how a seeker after truth was asked to go to the Raja Rishi Janaka to learn further lessons. The king welcomed the fairly elderly student, and learnt from him his quest. The next day the King arranged a huge procession, with various attractive displays and when the procession started, he called the "student" and addressed him thus :

"I am giving you a large plate, full of water, which you should carry on your head following the procession and return here along with the procession. But please remember that I am sending two soldiers, who will follow you on either side with drawn swords. If a drop of water were to fall from the plate they have instructions to cut off your head immediately".

The student, who had great reverence for the King, with a determined heart acted as the King wanted him to do. When he returned back with the procession, the King asked him :

"How was the procession" ? and wanted him to give some description of it. The student replied :

"I know nothing about the procession. I was all along mindful of the plate and nothing else".

Then the King replied :

"That is the only lesson, which I can teach you and you have learnt it. If you act in the same way in the quest of God and Truth as you did when you went along with the procession, you have learnt all that you have to learn".

May I ask whether there is one Prince in the whole of India who concentrates as Janaka wanted that student to concentrate? If our Rulers will only take care of their minds and thoughts then they will be fairly on the way of becoming the best of Rulers. I do not say that they should not indulge in pleasures. There are many legitimate pleasures which none will take objection to, if they indulge in them. It is the un-Kshatria "pleasures" to which people take objection to. After all pleasure is a relative term. What is pleasure to me may not be a pleasure to you and vice versa. Further pleasure is only an act, a dodge of the mind. When I motor about on my professional work, I used to see on the road-side labourers sitting in the sun, laughing and joking and breaking stones with hard hits. I have often felt whether we, the educated persons, have ever that contentment and pleasure, which those labourers have. Of course there are many other labourers, who suffer: yet they are content with very little. I only state this fact to show that after all pleasure is only of the mind. If our Princes will act as a Janaka, then there will be no trouble in the States and people will not look beyond His Highness for inspiration and leadership. Can there be a better pleasure to Princes than to realise that their subjects love and revere them with all their heart and mind?

Political Reforms?

The Congress in its precipitancy has roused very

unnatural and unnecessary feelings of unrest in the State in the wrong way. If you calmly view the actions of these States after this interference by the Congress, you will find that the Dewans and the Prime Ministers have been taking steps to please the minorities at the cost of the Hindus. The same thing which has taken place in British India is daily taking place in the States. The Congress in its despair at the life, which our Princes lead has brought about a situation which is ruinous to the cause of the Hindus. To have legislatures is the order of the day, with all its bickerings, selfishness, increased waste of moneys in outward shows, communal feelings and a stereotype imitation of British India. Even before these Legislatures were introduced in certain States, people were not getting enough of water to drink. That simple defect has not been removed in spite of reforms. If Gandhiji instead of encouraging the "leaders" of States in their agitation had merely written letters to the Rulers :

"I want that within this year your Highness should
"be pleased to arrange for pure drinking water for
"every village under you. I further request your
"Highness to increase the fodder for cows and that
"encouragement should be given to all villagers to
"rear cows for their own use, if not for selling milk".

I feel sure that there would have been a greater response from the Hindu Rulers than the present methods. After all the people in the States cannot feel that they are under a "foreign" rule. Further the vast

number of people never look for Government jobs and, they only want to live a life of comfort, having enough to eat and enough of clothing for themselves and their kith and kin. Without any controversy the Princes can take steps to bring about the greatest good to the largest number of their people.

Only when you go about bringing what are called "political reforms" all sorts of complications set in. In spite of all my love for Khadder I cannot but realise that it has come to have a political tinge; but such a tinge can never be attributed when a Ruler takes steps to bring drinking water to every resident and cow's milk for every child in his State. When the Princes take steps to bring about these they will find that they cannot be going about on their travels and cannot pay such huge amounts to their Dewans and their advisers as they do at present. They cannot have money for their unnecessary pleasures. After all when their subjects are not having enough of food for them, how can the Princes enjoy themselves? Can a just God bless them? Can they have a better life in their second incarnations? If the law of Karma has any meaning, I feel sure that those Princes, who live for themselves alone can never taste even a full meal a day in their future lives. They will feel the hunger as much as the poorest of the beggars in their States are doing at present. They will have to live in huts, which do not protect their bodies from the wind and the rain. (Cheers)

An ideal for our Princes.

To quote again the Viceroy :

"He who would be the father of his people, must
"satisfy himself that all classes of his subjects are
"given their fair share in the benefits of his rule,
'and that an *undue proportion of the revenue of his*
"State is not reserved for his own expenditure.
(Italics mine)...An absentee Ruler, like an absentee
"landlord, represents a condition of affairs that has
"never easily admitted of justification ; and that has
"never been more markedly the case than in the
"conditions of the present day".

Yet, in spite of this advice, our Maharajas, Rajas and
Yuvarajas go out of India for pleasure and so called
health. The amount, which they spend outside India is
a clear misappropriation of funds, which should be spent
within the States. Have they ever travelled about their
States *in cognito* as their ancient ancestors used to do ?
Never. If they would travel from village to village in
their States instead of outside our Baratha kanda, I feel
sure that they would realise the immense responsibility,
which God has placed on their shoulders.

Unfair tactics of their opponents.

If the people, the agitators and the journals take
upon themselves as their duties to criticise the Rulers,
day in and day out, it will be impossible even for an
Angel to be a Ruler. A Dr. Johnson or a Gandhiji
alone can stand such a scrutiny. While I admit the
weakness of our Hindu Rulers, I must also say in

fairness to them that the papers often exaggerate their shortcomings. I know positively that some papers get money either by way of advertisement charges or by reserving spaces for news of the States at a very high cost and by threatening to publish facts about the States, which may be unpleasant to be brought before the public view. Instead of taking care not to give such handle to them, our Princes give "hush money" to them, which only whets the appetite of those persons more and more. The only remedy is that our Princes should become real *Kshatriyas*, having their ideals rooted in our ancient *sasthras*. After all Democratic institutions are only attempts to help the people at large and not an end in themselves. If without the cumbersome procedure of Legislatures, we can get all the benefits that people want, certainly we would prefer beneficial autocracies to talking democracies. In their own interests we must all appeal to our Princes to take measures, which are useful to the people at large. To help the vast number of people is not to appoint members of certain communities to certain jobs. This may silence the agitators from various communities for a short time, but in the long run this will not bring about any benefit to the people. If the Princes will only feel and say that :

"We live for the people and not for our selfish
"interests,"

everything else will follow. They must have *real control* over their Dewans and Prime Ministers, a control

which should help the people and not go against them. At present most of the advisers of the Princes are the real Rulers. This should not be the case.

Dangers from Inside

You see friends, the Hindus are surrounded not only from Dangers from outside but also from dangers from inside. We are quarrelling amongst ourselves: we quarrel with our Princes: the latter have also fallen from their high ideals. We find that the Muslims are up against the Hindus and they want to dismember our Sacred land; the hold of the Englishmen on us is tightened. We are supremely indifferent. As already pointed out there are Rajamansings and Todarmals, amongst us, who are ready to betray the country for some imaginary benefits to themselves. The various Provinces are becoming more and more parochial. The all India feeling for our land is being cut asunder. Each portion of the country, which speaks a language is beginning to feel that it need not very much take to heart at what takes place to Hindus in other parts of this Barathakanda. If the Federation had set in there would have been, in spite of all its defects, a broader outlook, and an All India feeling! The Congress High Command was bringing about this feeling by their iron control over the Provincial ministries. Only those who did not want an All-India feeling, were criticising the control as undemocratic. The enemies of the country inside and outside the Hindu fold are glad that even such a trivial united control is lost.

A Gloomng Outlook.

It looks from the aftermath of amazing controversies, which have arisen in our land since the resignation of the Congress ministries, that we will have to be still under the control of foreigners. Will this control by outsiders for over 10 centuries be continued? What is the reason? What shall we do? Will we regain our Nationhood? Will our Baratha Matha rise once again with her full radiance and gladden our hearts? Or are we to succumb to the forces which go against us from every side? These are the questions, which surge into my heart and make me almost feel disheartened. My mind and heart are in darkness. I feel a desperation coming over me. I feel my helplessness. Believe me when I say that I have often cried at dead of nights getting up from my bed "Oh, Sri Krishna? What have we done? Why have you forsaken the land to which you gave your great message? Cannot you by a wink of your eye regenerate us"? But I have not yet received an answer. Oh! Friends. Is it an unnatural feeling to feel that our Mother should rise up in all her glory even during our life time? Is it criminal, selfish to feel in this way? Is mere feeling enough to regenerate us? To remedy a defect we have to find out its causes. Let me address myself to this aspect of the matter. But I feel my own incompetence to give practical suggestions. However I shall, with your kind encouragement, attempt to do so.

A voice: I think you are tired. It is better you take some rest.

Many thanks. The spirit is willing but the flesh is weak. (Laughter and Cheers).

(The meeting adjourned for half an hour and the gathering had some refreshments).

CHAPTER V.

A Strange Phenomena.

The strange phenomena of 270 millions of human beings ruled by one invader after another for over 1000 years and for the last 150 years by a handful of Englishmen is the greatest wonder of modern days. What is the reason for this unbelievable fact of the weakness of 270 millions? It is this question which every one in India will have to think seriously. Let us first find out the causes for this strange fact of our slavery to others, for so many centuries.

Reasons for Our Degradation.

Some say that this degradation is due to our philosophy of life and some say that we are in so vast a country that we are unable to think as one people, belonging to one country. But these reasons were existent in the times of Asoka, Harshavardhana and Vikramaditya. Though there were no telegraphs, telephones, radios, railways and motor cars, Asoka was able to unify the country and was able to maintain the peace of the country from internal disruption and external invasions. In fact Asoka was able to keep the country more unified and peaceful 2300 years ago than the Britishers are able to do in the 20th century. Yet

how did we fall so low as to allow every foreigner to walk into our land to rule and oppress us all?

Ahimsa, the Ruin of India.

I feel that the long prosperity of thousands of years which our ancestors were enjoying at the time of the invasion of Macedonian Alexander, had made them weak and cowards with a false doctrine of Ahimsa. This has ruined us. History records that the gates of the forts of Sind were thrown open to the invading Muslims as the ancestors of our people did not like to shed blood. The result is that Hinduism and the Hindus are almost annihilated from Sind. The minorities of Hindus who live in North Western India—from Kashmir to Sind—are living a life which is most pitiable, being always at the mercy of others. Yet it is the land of our great ancestors. It was there our sacred Vedas were sung at first. *What do I care who rules our land when it is converted from Hindusthan to Pakisthan or Muslimsthan?* (Cheers).

This wretched doctrine of Ahimsa is responsible for the present position of our land. Why were Muslim invaders allowed to carry away a great booty from our land? Why did not our ancestors sacrifice every one of their lives and allow the invader to walk on the putrifying corpses of their bodies and then allow them to destroy our temples? Because, our ancestors of those times were the followers of this abominable doctrine of Ahimsa, i. e. the religion of the cowards. I feel sure that these ancestors of ours, who were in North Western India, are still rotting in hell, for the wrongs which they have committed, by their cowardice, to their future

progeny and their country. I am not at all sorry for them. (Laughter).

Wrong Doctrine of Ahimsa.

It is a mystery to me where we learnt this damned doctrine of Ahimsa. Certainly it is not in our Scriptures. The quintessence of all the teachings of the Hindus is to be found in the Gita. Did Sri Krishna on the field of Kurukshetra teach cowardice and Ahimsa ? Hear the words of our Lord :

“Yield not to impotence O Partha !

It doth not befit thee

Shake off this paltry faint-heartedness !

Stand up Paranthapa !”

(Chapter 2. St. 3)

“Slain, thou wilt obtain Heaven

Victorious, thou wilt enjoy the

Earth: Therefore stand O son of

Kunthi, resolute to fight”.

falling dead on the way on account of heart failure or by the stab of an assassin? Every moment that passes brings us nearer to death. People fondly think that their children are growing up. *I say that they are marching towards death.* I have now spoken for a number of minutes and I am certainly nearer death by those minutes. That is why our Lord has in immortal words said :

“Certain is death to the born, and
Certain is birth for the dead
Therefore, over the inevitable
Thou shouldst not grieve.”

(Ch 2, St. 27)

“As a man casting off worn out garments, taketh
“new ones, so the dweller in the body casting off
“worn out bodies, entereth into others that are
“new ”

(Ch. 2, St. 22)

We have forgotten these words and that is why we have become cowards

When the Light Brigade marched on towards certain death in the Crimean War, were those noble soldiers afraid of death? Certainly not. They were acting Gita, though they were taught the Bible, while we, learning Gita act according to the Bible by showing the other cheek to every oppressor! The European and American powers have progressed on and on, just because they have been always following the teachings of the Gita, while we have been following the teachings of the Bible and the result is that we are on the sliding grade to degradation. When thousands of hands are

will only produce himsa. The Sikhs did not do any himsa but the stalwart brethren stood there with their strong arms and that prevented many a himsa. Hence I say that the Sikhs were perfect followers of Ahimsa. They had the strength to practise Ahimsa. Without the strength to talk of Ahimsa is nothing less than cowardice.

Unmanly Training.

From our School-days onwards we are allowed to behave in a cowardly way, I distinctly remember knocking down a brother Hindu student about 25 years ago for this parrot-like repetition of the criticisms against Sri Krishna, which he had heard from hostile preachers. He did not attempt to strike me back but got up and said :

"I shall get you beaten by Muslim boys ! "

The poor Hindu student could not think of collecting some Hindu boys but only of Muslims ! It was patent to my friend ! This exhibition of weak mentality was brought home to my mind the other day when a Hindu speaker, Mr. E. V. Ramaswamy Naicker who was leading an agitation against the Congress said in a course of a speech that :

"Muslims had been to a great extent responsible
"for the success of our movement. In the
"mofussil it was the presence of the Muslims in our
"meetings that prevented trouble from some people".
(Cries of Shame)

When you analyse the background of the sentiment and thought of this speaker as revealed by the sentences

quoted you will find that cowardice is ingrained in his heart. It is such thoughts which have made the Hindus a Nation of cowards, being ruled by one foreigner after another. Just as my co-student could not think of any other help except that of Muslim boys, this Hindu believes that a handful of Muslims in meetings prevented trouble to him and others. After all the Muslims are less than 7% in the Madras Province. Unless we get rid of this baneful mentality that we are weak, we cannot raise ourselves to manhood.

Right of Private Defence.

You are all aware that we are under the Penal Code drawn by Lord Macaulay. That shrewd Englishman has put in certain sections in the Code, which many of our people are not aware of. If the implications of these sections, with their limitations, are fully understood, we the Hindus will not be so very helpless when others with impunity attack us in our own land. As I am not lecturing here to law students I merely quote the sections and I request you all to remember the sections at difficult times. They are sections 96, "Nothing is an offence which is done in the exercise of the right of private defence"; Section 102 "The right of private defence of the body commences as soon as a reasonable apprehension of danger to the body arises from an attempt or threat to commit the offence though the offence may not have been committed, and it continues as long as such apprehension of danger to the body continues" and lastly Section 105 "The right of private defence of property

commences when a reasonable apprehension of danger to the property commences”.

Let us follow the law under which we live! Let us not make these useful sections null and void by forgetting them, whenever just occasions arise for using them. This will make us manly and will prevent many a misery with which we are now suffering on account of our weakness. (Cheers)

The Duty of the Majority.

Everyone will accept that it is the work of the Hindus, which is slowly raising the country to a better position. For instance the various Provinces in India are enjoying freedom in a number of matters. Who were responsible for this state of affairs? Did the minorities sacrifice their wealth, their brain power and the lives of their young men and women? Never. Did they at least contribute according to their population basis towards the struggle, which was mainly being carried on by the Hindus in various parts of the country? Never. The future impartial historian will say that the part played by the minorities in raising our country to a high status is negligible. There is nothing strange in this. Everywhere only the majority community of a country do work for the country's progress. They only can have that intense love for the land of their birth and not others.

It was the Congress consisting of a large number of Hindus, who have been working for the Motherland. It was the Congress influence, which obtained the Provinces of Sindh and the North West Frontier. But

for the blind support given by the Congress, which got that strength from the Hindus, the practical British Cabinet would not have created those dangerous Provinces in the North Western Frontiers. The Cabinet knew the danger of a Pakisthan, and it must have felt that the Muslims would want to act as "Sudeten Germans". But they had to yield to the pressure of the Hindus through the Congress. This happy phrase "Sudetan" was used by Mr. M. A. Jinnah and it connotes a world of meaning to us, the Hindus, who worship every bit of our country from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin and from the Hindukush to the Eastern borders of Assam. The minorities cannot understand the Beauty, the Greatness and the Grandeur of this image worship of the land of our birth. In the whole world only our ancestors have proclaimed without any reserve the mantra, *Jananee Janmaboomis ha Swargadharee gareeyasee*.

"Mother and Motherland are greater than heaven

"itself." The minorities in India have no faith in such a teaching and it is therefore understandable that they object to the mantra of "Vande Mataram", and the cry of "Bharatha-matha-ki-jai".

Gandhiji's Fatal blunder.

Did any one sacrifice more than the Bengali Hindus to rouse our Nation into great activity? The impartial answer is a NO. Yet look at the fate of the Hindus in Bengal. They are oppressed in the land, which is watered by the sacred Mother Ganges. The Muslim Government is trying its utmost to harm the Bengali Hindus in every way, while getting most of its revenue

from the Hindus. One of the scandalous examples of it was the Calcutta Corporation Act, of the Muslim ministry, brought specially with a view to reduce the power of the Hindus. The Muslims had never worked to obtain such a power. They were only acting the "favourite wife" to quote the phrase of a governor. It was the single representative of the Congress, a Hindu, I mean Gandhiji, who was responsible for the position of the Bengali Muslims, and it was he, who had roused them by his support to the Khilafat. It was he on account of his foolish policy of not letting down his "Muslim brethren," refused to accept the constitution proposed by the British Cabinet. If he had agreed to work the Constitution to be given—eventually he did agree—the Communal Award would never have seen the light of day and we would have got a constitution, which would not have harmed the Hindu majority in India. Whenever the conversations which took place between the Prime Minister MacDonald and Gandhiji on this subject are revealed, it will be known that Gandhiji's universality is the cause of the sufferings of the Hindus, not only in Bengal but throughout our Motherland. Since he refused to agree with the British Cabinet, naturally the then Prime minister had to look to others, who would support the constitution and he gave the Communal Award and the minorities jumped at it.

A Lord's Views.

As Lord Salisbury said in Parliament :

"India does not want the Communal Award. The

"Hindus hate it. They form the 75% of the country. "The Moslems want it. To draw a scheme on the "ground that it would please the Muslims rather than "the Hindus is to found it on a complete "constitutional fallacy".

Again it was on Gandhiji's advice that the Congress members of the Delhi Assembly took that notorious, shunning and dishonest attitude of "not accepting and not rejecting" the Award. The result was that legally and morally the Award was fully accepted by the elected representatives of the country. Gandhiji himself says that "The Congress has loyally accepted it". He and others thought that they were pleasing the Muslims. You can find out by the after effects whether that has been the result! It has only induced the Muslims to laugh at us and has encouraged them to put forward more and more demands.

Pandora's Box.

This hideous monster, christened as the "Communal Award" has put backwards the clock of progress of the Hindus for half a century to come. Nothing less than a revolution will get rid of this award. It has put the Hindus and the minorities including the "minority" of women into warring camps. It has sown vicious seeds of discord amongst Hindus themselves. It has put sect against sect and caste against caste. It is spreading like the German poison gas all over our land, and our daily lives have been converted into one of mutual suspicions. *This award has done more harm to our sacred Bharatavarsha than all the invasions of our land by*

brutal foreigners for many centuries before this award. It has proved a veritable opening of Pandora's Box to our country. The most surprising point is that in this division of our Motherland into various electorates, we the Hindus, who are 75% of the population and who pay 80% of the taxes, with which we are governed are dubbed not as Hindus but as a "General Electorate" and "Non-Muslim constituencies" It passes my comprehension how our Hindu leaders allowed such an insulting terminology to be applied to us, the Hindus, the real people of India. If Muslims are called Non-Hindus what would they have thought of it? Yet we Hindus have lost so much of our sense of self respect that we have without protest submitted to this highly defamatory and most provoking terminology that can ever be given to our people, with such an ancient civilization as that of ours. I am a Hindu every bit of my flesh, blood and bone, and hence to call me a non-Muslim even in my own Motherland is outrageous. Friends, whether you are going to agree with me or not in the various views which I am expressing in this address, I request you on bended knees to take every step to abolish this terminology. (cheers).

The Britishers' Will.

Do you think that the British Government could not have given a better award? Suppose for instance the Britishers had enacted that there would be only joint electorate with the principle of "one man one vote." The country would have worked it just as it is working the

constitution with the Communal Award. The Britishers have either forced or induced us to work the constitution. They would have done the same thing even if there had been no communal award of this type.

Our Responsibilities.

Let us remember, even though it is unpleasant, that, however much we may talk of Non-co-operation, Passive resistance or actual resistance, we are at present not in a position to oppose the determined will of the British Cabinet. They may yield out of policy to our agitation but none of us are so foolish as to believe that we can at present carry the day, if it is opposed to the will of the British Government.

Hence let us make every effort to make ourselves strong. Our *Manthra* should always be "Strength, strength, bodily strength, mental strength, spiritual strength". That is what we want. Though we are a small gathering here if every one of us attains strength, then we will like a magnet attract others and make them strong. Without strength there is absolutely no use of talking of any progress. Only when we possess strength all our sorrows will disappear. Just as darkness disappears when light is brought in, our weaknesses will disappear as soon as we obtain strength and establish unity amongst the Hindus. We need not look to any other country for this ideal. Our ancient Vedas have given us the ideals :

"Common be your prayer,

"Common be your end,

"Common be your purpose,

"Common be your deliberation,
"Common be your desires,
"United be your Hearts,
'United be your intentions,
"Perfect be the union amongst you.

(Rig-Veda X 191, 3, 4)

So sang our great Forefathers when Europe, America, Africa, Australia and other parts of Asia were mere jungles and wherein human beings lived like wild animals, without clothing and without proper food, eating the raw fruits from the trees and not knowing how to cover themselves. Hence we have a great heritage. Let us go back to this Vedic ideal. The first requisite is, strength, strength and strength. No doubt we are not strong at present but that should only goad us to work harder than otherwise. (Cheers)

Our Destiny In our Hands.

Yet whatever sufferings and benefits which have come to this country it is due to the Hindus and Hindus alone. Their agitation is responsible for the Communal Award and the constitution. Therefore it is thoughtless to say that without "Hindu-Muslim Unity"—the Muslims mean by such a Unity only a surrender by the majority to the minority—we cannot regain our liberty. In the whole world there are about 210 million Muslims, taking all their denominations as one, scattered in various countries, while we are more than them in one country.

Hence if 270 millions of Hindus cannot obtain freedom for our country, it is an utter folly, and madness

to think that 70 million Muslims can obtain it for us. (Loud cheers). I have already quoted Mr. Jinnah's reference to us as a "superstitious" people. Yes. We have been harbouring this idiotic "superstition" that without the help of the Muslims we cannot regain our liberty. Let us first of all get rid of this wretched "superstition" by realising that what we want is Hindu unity. If we attain this, all other unities will come of their own accord and they will fall like *manna* from above. We must take all steps to bring this about. If we attain this the whole world cannot break us, much less the minorities in our Bharathavarsha. (cheers)

The fault, dear brethren, is not in our stars, but in ourselves that we are underlings. Hence my young friends, the Hope of Hindu India, get rid of this disastrous mentality that you are weak and that you should seek the help of others to regain your freedom and that you should follow the doctrine of Ahimsa by submitting to all the demands of your opponents and suffer for aons to come, in the hope of converting your opponents by love and sufferings. Such methods will not succeed in this Kaliyuga. Our ancestors have taught us different methods of work for each Yuga. Such sufferings may have succeeded in *Krithayuga*, *Threthayuga* and *Dwaparayuga* but not in the sinful age of *Kaliyuga*. (cheers.)

Gandhiji and Ahimsa.

You may say that this doctrine of Ahimsa is taught by a great personality like Gandhiji. But I am afraid we have misunderstood him to cover up our cowardice.

When he talks of Ahimsa he talks of the Ahimsa of an elephant, which goes on eating its grass unconcerned at a puppy barking round and round and attempting to bite it. In ancient India Maharshi Vasishtha practised Ahimsa against King Viswamitra. The latter's soldiers were throwing arms after arms against the venerable Rishi, but the latter did not utter one word of anger against the King, but placed his "*Dhand*" in front of him and on account of the spiritual force of the Rishi all the weapons thrown at him were made null and void. This spiritual force converted the ferocious Viswamitra into a Maharshi !

It is such kind of conversion that Gandhiji talks of when he says that by our love we must convert our enemy. The Maharshi, if he had wanted, could have, by uttering a word, reduced Viswamitra into ashes. Yet he did not do so but stood in self-defence and thus made the King impotent to harm him. If we have amongst us even one Vasishtha we can talk of this cowardly Ahimsa. I mean, the Ahimsa which looks on, while injustice is done to us while we are slapped and kicked about. Hence I say that Gandhiji's Ahimsa is that of an elephant and of a Vasishtha. If on the other hand, I am told, that this is not the meaning of his teachings, then I, without any hesitation, request you all to reject it as unfit for the present day India. Without any disrespect to Gandhiji I boldly say that when his teachings come in conflict with that of Sri Krishna, we must reject the former and follow the latter. I feel sure that

Gandhiji will be the first to say that he is not above Sri Krishna.

The Maharishi and a Cobra

Let me further illustrate my meaning of Ahimsa by reminding you of the story of the Maharishi and the Cobra. The latter was a fierce one and it was doing havoc amongst the neighbouring people. A Maharishi heard of this. He went to the Cobra and induced it to become a devotee of Ahimsa. Thereafter it never did any harm to any one. All people lost their fear of the cobra and even children began to pelt the cobra with stones, but the poor creature did not retaliate. When next the Maharishi came that way, he found the cobra suffering from wounds and maggots on its body. With tears in its eyes it told the Rishi that it was the result of his teachings. The Maharishi replied :

“What a fool you are! I advised you not to do
“himsa but I never asked you not to raise your hood
“and hiss at people who give you trouble!”

Thereafter the cobra used to raise its fierce hood and hiss and all people stopped giving trouble to it. In the same way let us raise our hoods at our opponents even though we may not harm them. We must have the strength—the hoods—to harm them but we should restrain from doing so. That is ahimsa and not receiving all the blows passively, and then proclaim that we are following the doctrine of Ahimsa! That is the conduct of a coward. Gandhiji himself has stated many times that a coward cannot follow Ahimsa. The remedy for our weakness and cowardice is the Gita and nothing else.

Revive the Gita Spirit.

We must revive the Gita spirit in our country. There need be no organization for this. Let every Hindu who can afford, make it a point to present on every birth-day ceremony or Saradha ceremony which occurs in his family or on the date of any marriage in his family or on the birth of any child in his house a copy of the Gita to someone who does not possess a copy. If all the 270 millions of Hindus think of the Gita, that itself will create a spirit amongst all of us. Every Hindu should repeat at least a couple of stanzas from the Gita daily in any language he likes. One chapter of the Gita should be recited every day in our Temples before the pujas. Just as every Christian student knows all about the Bible, the Hindu student must be compelled to study the Gita. If this is done, before the end of this year, this cowardly Ahimsa which is sucking the life blood of the children of Aryavarttha, will vanish as mist before the Sun. I can find no better remedy to regenerate us and to get rid of this cowardice, which has ruined the country, than the Gita spirit. I have taken so much of your time regarding this aspect as I feel that it is the wrong meaning given to Ahimsa, which is responsible for all the degradation into which our country has fallen for the last 2000 years.

Has the Gita failed us ?

Some may say that for thousands of years the Gita has been with us and yet it has not infused in us its real spirit and hence the Gita cannot revive us. They are

mistaken. We were great once—none can deny this—but we became weak because we have forgotten the Gita. Find out how many out of the millions of Hindus, possess each a copy of the Gita. It will not be even 10%. Even out of the 10% there will be only 1 or 2 per cent who may daily read the Gita and try to understand and act up to it. It is the fashion amongst us to praise Gandhiji and say that we are following him. Gandhiji daily repeats a number of slokas from the Gita. I would ask how many of his followers do so? There is what is called the High Command, who are acting according to the behests of Gandhiji in political matters. I would ask how many of these are reading the Gita and are taking Gandhiji's standard of life in public and private as their ideal? There were Hindu Ministers in a number of Provinces, who are said to follow the ideals of Gandhiji. I would ask how many of these men are really following Gandhiji while always taking his name for everything. Let them place their hands on their hearts and ask themselves whether they have ever attempted to follow, at least his example of reading the Gita daily, even though they may not have taken to his absolute purity of life. Let them not answer me but let them satisfy their own conscience. I can say that not more than 1 per cent of these leaders are reading the Gita. Some may not know what is Gita and who taught it and where it is to be found! Yet for four annas you can buy a good copy of the Gita in Sanskrit and its translation in any language of India. There are many Hindu Rulers in India. They are also in the same

position as our leaders in British India. Even they do not care for the Gita. When this is the position of the majority of our "leaders and Rulers" is it any wonder that the Gita is not influencing our lives? (Shouts of Gitakijai). Friends, excuse me. We shout at meetings but we forget the very thing which we praised, soon after we reach home. I hope this shout will prove an exception.

Bible Propaganda.

Look at the noble propaganda for the Holy Bible! There is no known language in the world in which the Bible has not yet been translated. How many millions of copies are being distributed all over the world every year! How many hundreds of men and women sacrifice their lives every year with a view to spread the teachings of the Bible! Have we ever done a millionth of the propaganda which Christians do for the Bible, for our Gita even amongst our own people? The answer is an emphatic "No". Yet some people *dare* say that the Gita has not influenced the people of India!

You find that in spite of the spread of the teachings of the Bible there have been more wars in this world, after Christianity has spread, than before. We saw the spectacle of England, France, Germany, Italy, Russia and America piling up arms after arms every moment of the 24 hours of the day! We have realised from this brutal war that they were not arming themselves to show the other cheek to their opponents though they are all Christians! Yet this position is not due to the

Bible. You cannot blame the Bible for this monstrosity. In the same way, if we, after 7168 years of teachings of the Gita, are weak it is not the fault of the Gita. You must remember that only in the last 1000 years we have been slowly becoming weak and not before that.

The Gita Saved us.

You should also remember that if any other country had so many invasions as we have had for the last 20 centuries that country's civilization would have been effaced from this world. You need only look at the map of the world before the followers of Prophet Mohamed invaded the various countries and after their invasions to realise how the old civilizations and religions have crumbled before them. Only our Bharatha varsha, in spite of many an onslaught has withstood the invasions. The fact that we are still alive shows the greatness of our Religion, and civilization. This greatness was entirely due to the teachings contained in the Gita which our ancient ancestors followed up with scrupulous regard.

CHAPTER VI.

The Theory of Karma.

There is another aspect of our Philosophy, which has been misinterpreted and thus it has also contributed to our degradation. It is the doctrine of Karma. Karma has been misunderstood by people as fatalism. Karma is neither fatalism nor pre-destination. It is a sane theory of life. Karma is merely cause and effect. To

put it in Biblical words "What thou sowest thou must reap". If you sow a plantain suckling it would not grow into a cocoanut tree. Hence it is not the fiat of an all powerful and supreme Being but it is merely the result of our own action. If we are the outcome of our past actions, then certainly we can shape our future by our present actions. Suppose a man borrows money on a promote, he is bound by it till he pays back the amount, and immediately he returns the money, he is released from the debt i. e. his Karma, and it is within his own power not to get into debt again. In the same way he can direct his life in a better way so that he can raise himself in future. When we get into trouble we think that it is due to our fate; when we are oppressed by another we feel that this is due to "our Karma" instead of striking back saying that it is "his Karma" that he should receive a beating from us. Hence if our country is weak on account of our past actions, we can by our present actions make it strong. It is left to us to be strong or weak; and the doctrine of Karma, if properly understood urges us to do all that we can to raise ourselves and does not make us resign ourselves to the so-called fate. Our religious heads have often misdirected the country by giving wrong interpretation to our scriptures and the twisting of Karma into fatalism is another instance of it. But our Lord in unmistakable language has stated:

"Even if thou art the most sinful of sinners, yet
"shall thou cross over all sin by the raft of wisdom."
(Ch. 4 St. 36).

“As the burning fire reduces fuel to ashes, O
“Arjuna, so doth the fire of wisdom reduce all action
“into ashes.” (Ch. 4 St. 37).

After these words how can anyone say that Hinduism teaches fatalism? Does it not allow a man to work out his own destiny? Can anyone say that these verses tie the freedom of a Hindu without any hope being given to him to get rid of the result of his past actions? Certainly not.

For instance a seed of a peach plant will, in ordinary circumstances, grow into a peach plant giving peaches; but certain gardeners use their wisdom and cut the stem of that plant and graft on it a small stem of a plum tree. Thereafter that plant gives luscious plums, instead of a lower order of fruits—the peaches. Yet the root is still that of a peach! The gardeners have often to cut away the tender shoots of a peach plant, which come out below the place where it had been grafted on. Thus you see by the “wisdom” of the gardeners the “Karma” of a peach plant is turned into a better result that of a better fruit—the plum—and thus the natural result of its karma is nullified. That is what our Lord means when He says that the fire of wisdom reduces all actions—past Karma—into ashes. Hence let us all gird up our loins and reduce the past Karma of our country into better results by our wisdom. The theory of Karma does not at all obstruct us in this matter.

Our Toleration.

There is yet another aspect of our Philosophy, which has also contributed to our degradation—I mean

our extreme toleration. This toleration is at once our ruin and our glory. The basis for this misunderstanding is to be found in the Gita. There our Lord says :

“However men approach me, even so do I
“welcome them, for the path, which men take from
“every side, is mine, O Partha”. (Ch. 4, St. 11).

On the basis of this we look with indifference when thousands of Hindus are taken away from our fold; but we forget that by such indifference the path which our land has been taking for over 7000 years is becoming obstructed and that path may one day become completely blocked and effaced for ever. On account of our foolish toleration, many Hindus worship at non-Hindu Religious places while non-Hindus never worship at Hindu religious places. I have always felt that there is something wrong with our toleration, which can allow such a thing to happen without protest and prevention. I think that Sree Krishna did not at all refer to Christianity and Muhamadanism when he uttered that glorious passage as these Religions came into existence thousands of years after Sri Krishna's teachings. He only meant the various aspects of Hinduism as He clearly refers to Karma, Bhakti and Gnana Margas. Perhaps He also referred to Vaishnavism, Saivism Sanktism, but never to the religions of Christianity and Muhamadanism, which insist that we should have blind faith in their teachings, with threats of hell and eternal fire.

In contrast with this bigotry, if you read the Upanishads and the Gita you will find that we are never

asked to believe in anything which does not satisfy our reasoning powers. There the pupils question the Guru, doubting every point uttered by the Guru. Even a casual reading of our Scriptures will prove that the teachings of our religion can always compare very very favourably with any other known religions of this world. Please do not allow yourselves to be confused by the attacks made by our opponents against the social injustices, which have come into existence in Hinduism. We cannot reasonably judge Christianity by the shooting and hunting down of the human aborigines of Tasmania, as if they were wild animals, by the English Christians and by the lynching of Negroes by the broadminded American Christians. In the same way you cannot judge Muhamadanism by the plunders and disasters which Muslims have brought to other countries and by the cowardly murders which they have committed of Swami Shradhananda, Rajpal, Maharaj Nath Ram, the Anglo-Indian lady of Bhopal and a host of others.

Sensible Tolerance.

I mention these instances not with a view to criticise these two religions, but to point out that the social wrongs, which we have done to members of our own communities, should not be the basis to judge our religion also. Further I wish to point out that in the midst of such hostile religions our Lord did not ask us to be passively tolerant. Tolerance is not indifference. Tolerance does not mean that we should put the other religions at a higher pedestal than that of ours and allow every sort of attack on our religion. I do not say

that you should follow the example of others in becoming oversensitive at every word uttered against our religion. That will only show that we are not sure of our own religion, but we should not look on with indifference at deliberate steps taken to ruin our religion.

Some may say that I am narrowing the great toleration which our Lord has taught us in the Gita. Certainly not. I do not ask you to look down with contempt on the other religions. Respect them but do not succumb to them and do not accept them as of equal merits though they may also lead to the same goal. We must first of all have a living faith in our religion before we can respect other religions without that faith to respect other Religions just is like a son honouring every other woman except his own mother. Our mother demands our first respect, then only other women.

Hostile Religions.

Further there is another aspect to this question. The other two religions of India are of a proselytising nature and they look upon Hinduism as one which should not be allowed to live. Why were our temples destroyed and other religious places erected out of the materials? Because the invaders felt that the temples were places of worship of the infidels; they will again do so if they get the chance. In the same way our Christian Missionaries think of us as "poor Heathens," who have no hope of attaining salvation for not accepting Lord Jesus as the only Saviour. By converting our people they feel that they are saving the souls of our people. In the midst of

such a poisonous hostility to our religion, where is the chance for us to practise our extreme toleration? Formerly Hindu Kings were taking care of our religion but where is the Hindu King now-a-days who is working for the uplift of our religion? I am not able to mention one Hindu Ruler who does so. On the other hand H. E. H. The Nizam, the foremost Muslim Ruler does everything to help his religion. Our Hindu Rulers are so tolerant that they do not want to assert that they are Hindus and as such that they owe a duty to Hinduism lest others get offended at it!

A Sorrowful Experience.

Last year with a view to celebrate the Gita Day I sent polite letters to the Private Secretaries of a few Orthodox Hindu Maharajas reminding them of the Gita Day and requested them to command their Dewans to arrange for the celebration of the Gita Day and to see that many Hindus do possess copies of the Gita at least from that day onwards. I respectfully pointed out that if an enquiry were to be made they would find that even most of their educated Hindu subjects do not possess a copy of the Gita while every one of their Christian subjects will be having a copy of the Holy Bible in their possession. The indifference shown to such a suggestion—none of the Maharajas to whom I wrote took steps to celebrate the Gita Day, while most places in British India celebrated it—was amazing.

Indifference of Hindu Rulers.

What is the reason? These Maharajas have as

advisers either Muslims who, naturally, are not interested in Hinduism, or Hindus of that "*Ahrisangu*" variety who are neither Hindus nor non-Hindus and who do not show any faith in Hinduism and who are ever ready to please the minorities by taking every step which will prevent them from opposing them. These minorities easily raise the cry of "minorities in Danger" which are taken up by their co-religionists in British India. Further these advisers want to have an easy time receiving the unduly fat salaries without any trouble whatsoever. Further they want to show themselves off as non communal and that they are extremely "tolerant" and that the Hindu Rulers are also "tolerant" on account of their advice! Yet it is well known that neither the Muslim Rulers nor their advisers ever show any such indifference to the Muslim Religion. They are not nervous of taking every step to strengthen their Religion and are not of afraid being dubbed "communal" for that. It is sorrowful that a large number of our Hindu Maharajas do not show that active and intense faith in their own Religion as the Muslim Rulers. Hence it is not surprising that the Hindu subjects in these States are "castor oil" Hindus without any enthusiasm for their Religion and they pride themselves in their "toleration". As the Sanskrit proverb says "just as the King so are his subjects". Unless we reform and get out of his blind toleration we will be ruined.

Hence we must change our attitude of toleration according to the changing times I do not ask you to abuse other religions or do anything to harm them—it

will be un-Hindu like—but have a pride in your own religion which has stood the onslaughts of so many invaders and which has a continuous history of over 10000 years. Let us tell the members of the two other religions :

“Brethren, continue your path, we do not object or obstruct it, but do not interfere and ruin our religion. Is it fair that the guests should attack the host after accepting his hospitality.”?

Our Contribution to the World.

You may say :

“You have been talking about the ruination, which our toleration has brought to India, but where is the “glory” which you referred to ?”

Our glory consists in putting forward an ideal before the world that people need not quarrel over religious and that one set of religious people need not force others to accept their view points. How many Maharajas and how many Hindus have contributed to the erection of churches and mosques ! Do the Muslims and Christians ever help the building of Hindu temples ? Never, as they are not taught to help the religion of Kafirs and Heathens.

Caste System.

Then again it is said that we Hindus on account of our caste system have been prevented from being united into a strong nation. This question is highly controversial and it often results in bitterness. Hence I do not like to enter deeply into this controversy, except touching the

main aspect. I feel that the real cause of the quarrel amongst us is not due to caste, as it was originally created, but to its present day irreligious aspect of it. Our Lord said :

“The four castes were emanated by Me, by the “different distribution of qualities and action”. (Ch. 4, St. 13)

But at present we have 4000 castes ! Is it not against the Gita ? (Cries of Down with Castes). Friends, there is no use of making such cries. We loudly speak against caste in public meetings and go home and act strictly according to all the silliest of restrictions of castes. What we should first do is to eliminate all the innumerable prohibitions and restrictions between one caste and its sub-castes. If we succeed in this aspect of going back to the idea of the Gita, half the battle is won. Our Lord never said that one caste is superior to another. Hence crush this unfortunate idea that a certain caste is superior to another, which is mainly responsible for all the troubles connected with caste. Let us sternly say that there is no superiority between caste and caste and if any one asserts this wretched superiority then he should be treated as a traitor to his country and religion. I do not ask that the main castes should mix indiscriminately in marriage and food etc., but I do say that because I decline to eat with another I should not think that I am a born superior to the other person.

Abolition of Caste.

If caste can be abolished root and branch and if *that* would solve our National problem, I am for it: but

experience has shown us that every Reformer of caste has only ended in creating another caste, which soon crystalises into a new sect under Hinduism and adds to the number of its castes. Our able brother Dr. Ambedkar is for uprooting caste: but his efforts, I feel sure, will end in creating another caste called "Ambedkars" and perhaps after his death—May he live long to point out the weaknesses of the Hindus!—he will be worshipped as an *avxtar* by his community. Hence I tell him in all sincerity that even after his death he will be treated as a Hindu, even though our brother says that he is determined not to die as a Hindu. Hence it is I suggest that the first steps should be to reduce the number of castes by absorbing them into the major castes, as such innumerable castes have no basis in the Gita.

Burn the opposite Texts !

I am aware that some of our countrymen will quote chapter and verse from other so-called scriptures in support of the unfortunate idea of superiority of one caste over another caste. In reply I need only remind you of what a Caliph said when he burnt the famous library of Alexandria in Egypt. With a twinkle in his eye, the Caliph looked at the huge library and said :

"If these contain what is already in the Holy Quoran, they are superfluous and if they do contain what is *Not* in the Quoran it is a blasphemy. Hence burn them". (laughter)

The order was carried out and thus the world lost a vast knowledge about Egyptian civilization, their arts, their religion and their manners.

I do not want you to go to that extent of burning the opposite texts, but I request you to reject all those texts, which are in conflict with the teachings of the Gita. Hence on the basis of the Gita, bring the castes to their original purity and abolish the superiority idea. Never use the words which show that one caste is superior to another when you speak or when you write. This will pave the way for getting rid of all excrescences in our caste system. Further when we base our idea on the Gita and say that we are not out for destruction of caste, there will not be so much opposition as this question ordinarily rouses.

Not the only Sinners

Do not be under the impression that these distinctions and differences are peculiar to us and are the special defects of Hinduism alone. Our opponents have hypnotised us into this belief. Many of our countrymen being under the Maya of this hypnotic influence, have been sincerely believing in this hoax that we are the only persons, who are divided and who quarrel amongst themselves, and that once we go out of Hinduism everything will be fair and clear and that the gates of Heaven will immediately open and we will be taken to the right hand side of the Almighty by the magic wand of conversion, and that we can enjoy untold pleasures in Paradise. These are stupid stories of interested persons. Do all Christians and Muslims look like persons with firstclass through tickets to Heaven? (laughter and cries of no, no). Even a half witted person will not assert it.

Differences Amongst Christians.

Look at Christians! Catholics and Protestants are considered to be of two religions altogether. Father Hardings says :

“Those who forsake the Holy Roman Church
“shall be companions with devils in everlasting fire.”

He was only enlarging what the Holy Father Pope Boniface said :

“Every creature must submit itself unto the
“Bishop of Rome, upon pain of everlasting
“damnation”, (cries of Oh! Oh!)

Hence a Protestant Christian before being taken into the Catholic fold has to be baptised as if he were a heathen! Yet both revere the Lord Jesus as their Saviour! There are numberless opposing Church doctrines amongst Protestants. What about the Syrian and Grecian Churches? These differ from the Roman Catholic Church. Let us see whether those of our countrymen who have been taken away from our fold and converted to other Religions are free from differences and distinctions. He must be a bold liar who says that they have abolished all differences and distinctions and that they do not quarrel amongst themselves.

Opposition Amongst Muslims.

Look at Muslims! Are they without differences and distinctions? What about Shias and Sunnis, Ahamadiyas and Quadinies, Boras and Aghakhanities? What do you say of the Mappilas and Rowthers of South India? Besides these there are other opposing

sects amongst them, which I need not describe here. These show that they are not more united than we in religious matters. We have never quarrelled as the Shias and Sunnis did in U. P. in the 20th century of the Lord Jesus. Is there much political unity amongst them? The Kashmir Muslims are for full self-government reducing the authority of the Ruler to the Zero point, while the Muslims of Hyderabad, supported by the Muslim League, are for no reduction of any of the powers of the Rulers of Hyderabad! They threaten to create a Civil War if we attempt to reduce the power of the Ruler! Again the Punjab Prime Minister says that the country wants Democratic Government while the High Priest of the Muslim League says that we are not fit for Democratic Government! You find here diametrically opposite views. Hence do not allow the Muslims to deceive you by saying that they have a wonderful unity and that we are much worse off than they.

No need to be ashamed.

On the other hand in comparison with the religious bigotry of these two religions, I may say that we have absolutely no cause to become disheartened at our differences. Did not Christians burn Christians at the Stake and thus carry out the command of Lord Jesus not to shed a drop of blood, as when a man is burnt alive, no blood comes out? Did not an enlightened Muslim Ruler of Afghanistan allow a mob to throw stones at a Muslim and thus kill him for expressing certain other

views on Muslim Religion? We have never done one thousandth of the cruelty and wrong to our sects which these two Religions have done to their own sects, not to speak of the horrible wrongs done to others.

I draw your attention to a few of the differences in these religions and the wrongs done by them—a big volume can be written about them—not with a view to gloat over their differences, and distinctions, but merely to point out that if we have sinned we have done so in very good company! But I wish to impress upon you that there is a very strong contrast between these two religions and that of ours on an important point. They emphasise their points of unity while we emphasise the points of differences amongst us and forget the patent unity on many points. However, please remember that two wrongs do not make a right. Hence do not be indifferent to the disunity, which is in our society, and Religion. Unless we unite we will have no salvation either in this world or the next.

Contra to the Gita.

Even the present day disunity and differences are all against the teachings of the Gita. Our Lord has said in unmistakable words that :

“The knowers of self look with an equal eye
“on a Brahmana endowed, with learning and
“humility, a cow, an elephant, a dog and an outcast”.
(Ch. 5, St. 18).

Again he said :

“He who seeth Me everywhere, and seeth every-

"thing in Me, of him will I never lose hold, and he shall never lose hold of Me." (Ch. 6, St. 30).

"All beings exist in me." (Ch. 9, St. 4) and finally he said :

"I am the same to all beings: to Me there is none hateful or dear". (Ch. 9, St. 29).

Our Lord's Promise.

After all these glorious sayings of our Lord, how can a Hindu, calling himself a Hindu, think he is superior to another Hindu and that another is lower? If we believe in the words of our Lord all differences will vanish and we will soon become united and all meaningless opposition to the entry of Harijans into our temples will vanish like mists before the Sun. Did not King Yudhishtra refuse to enter even Heaven without the dog which was following him? That is the ideal put before us by our ancestors. Yet it is sorrowful to find that learned Orthodox Hindus raising serious objections to the entry of Harijans—*Atmians*—into earthly Temples, built for all Hindus, with human hands. What is the reason? It is because they have forgotten the Gita. Have the other Religions taught equality of man and man and that the Lord looks upon all with an equal eye better than the Gita? Not at all. Just as they have also not followed the equality taught in their scriptures, we have also failed to carry out the teachings of our Lord. Hence I request you to go to back to the Gita. Whatever may be our present day difficulties, all will vanish. Our Lord has given us the promise :

“Whenever O Descendant of Bharatha, there is a
“decline of Dharma, and the rise of Adharma, then
“I bodyforth myself, for the protection of the good
“for the destruction of the wicked and for
“establishment of Dharma, I come into being every
“age”.

(Ch. 4 Stn 7 & 8).

No other scripture of this world has given such a
clear hope and promise as our Lord has done on the
historic field of Kurukshetra. Then, O Descendants of
Bharatha, why are you down hearted? Whatever may
be our difficulties and obstruction we will overcome
them with our Lord's help. But we must become
deserving of our Lord's protection. It is so simple to
get the Lord's blessings and yet so few of us attempt to
get them. The Lord says :

“He who offereth to Me, with devotion a leaf, a
“flower, a fruit, water, that I accept them from the
“striving self, offered as it is with devotion”.

(Ch. 9. St. 26).

We must remember that we will only get what we
deserve, i. e. the results will be according to our actions.
That is the law of Karma. With a living faith in our
Lord we must work. Our cause is just and hence we need
not despair. We are not out for destruction of other
countries, rights and religion like Hitler, Stalin and
Pakisthanists but we are for preserving the liberty of our
Aryavartha, our Janmabhoomi, our Punyabhoomi, our
Mathurbhoomi, our Pitharbhoomi. (Cheers). There is no
injustice in this.

CHAPTER VII.

Our Religious Heads.

It is the duty of our religious heads to do everything to raise us from the lethargy into which we have fallen. It is an admitted fact that there is no other country in this world, which has so many religious heads as we have. There are Sankaracharyas, Madathipathis, Mahanthes, Maharishies, Pandarasannadhies, Sanyasies, Bhairagies, Sadhus and Swamijies of various denominations, too numerous to be mentioned here. All of them have taken to a life of austerity and sacrifice and have left off the family and worldly life. They are all expected to be spiritually higher than the ordinary men of household life. I involuntarily rise from my seat and fold my palms, when I see a shaven head with the *garuva* cloth. I am not peculiar in this mentality as millions of our countrymen behave like me. We do so because we feel that they are spiritually superior to us and that they are men, who are aspiring towards higher ideals, and are devoted to our Lord. Hence what I am going to say is not due to any hostility towards them but merely out of regard for them.

• Their Fallen State.

Is there one Vasishta, one Viswamitra or one Agasthiamuni amongst so many religious heads and sanyasies of our land? If, not even a single person of the old type of Rishies is to be found in modern days in our land, and if there is none who has the power to unite us by his spirituality into one strong nation, then I feel

that the boasted spirituality of these men, who have renounced the world is a mere sham. What is the use of these men taking to the Ochre cloth if their prayers will not be answered by our Lord? That shows that they are not sincere in their prayers and that their spiritual power has no strength whatsoever to move our Lord. I do not say that they should all come out on platforms and vie with vulgar politicians. I believe in the words of Sri Ramana Maharishi that :

“Preaching is the simple communication of knowledge : it may be done in silence also. It is better to sit silently sending out inner force than. “preach loudly without effect”.

But my grievance is that our Sadhus and Sanyasies are not at all sending out “Inner force”. If they had done so our country would never have been in its present position.

Their Duties.

Is it not their duty to bring about unity at least amongst all the sects of Hindu Religion, which is their special province? If they fail even in this aspect, then why should we respect them and look upon them as superior to us? If they will only forget their own dignities and paraphernalias, they can do much good work to regenerate us. We are not even agreed on the dates of the birth of Sri Rama and Sri Krishna or to the dates on which we have to celebrate great festivals like Deepavali, Sravanam and the New moon days. Even on such simple matters we do not agree. I say that it is the fault of our religious heads. All Christians and all

Muslims celebrate the birth days of Lord Jesus Christ and the Holy Prophet Muhamed on certain specified dates. Do we do so on any occasion? Is it too difficult for our religious leaders to proclaim at least one day in the month on which every Hindu wherever he may be will think upon his religion and Motherland? Cannot they do something to get rid of the innumerable and unnecessary differences even in religious matters?

Their Excuses.

I know that some of them will say :

"We have renounced the world so that we may get rid of our "Karma" and that we may not be troubled by the waves of Samsara and that we want to cross over the river of sorrow of births and deaths. Do you want us to get enmeshed again in worldly affairs? We say with our Adi Sankaracharya that "the whole earth is our Benares" and that the same Lord has created the whole of humanity and it is our wish and our prayer that peace should be on the face of the whole world. Hence we cannot look upon India's peace and Religion alone as our special province".

I respectfully say in reply :

"If that is your outlook, dear Sanyasies, kindly walk out of our Bharatha Varsha and go into the tribal land between Afghanistan and India or go to South Africa or to Australia or godless Russia and Germany and preach your gospel and live there, if you dare! They need your gospel more than we.

"We are surfeited with this universality and we
"have been suffering too long with indigestion on
"account of our eating the thoughts of such a
"philosophy. We have had enough of it and to spare.
"Hence be gone from our sacred Aryavārtha". (Cheers).

Some others may say that "we have taken to this
life of a Sanyasi not for the sake of you all but to save
our own souls." My answer is : "If that is so, you are
a lot of selfish men and such men should not be honoured
and have no place on this land of ours. Be gone ! You
must remember that you have taken to the ochre cloth
in the name of Hinduism. If you are not useful to
Hinduism then that ochre cloth is of no use to us. Throw
these cloths away and come into the work-a-day world
of ours. You have left off family ties and material
comforts and hence you will all become fine soldiers in a
splendid army caring not for your lives, like the
immortal soldiers of the Light Brigade. Join the army
of India and fight the battles of our country with physical
force as the Sanyasies of Anantnamatam did a century
ago. The Britishers will be glad to welcome men, who
will not trouble them for a large pay and who will do
unselfish work on meagre allowance without caring for
their lives. (Laughter). Friends, this is not a matter
for laughter, I am not joking. I express these thoughts,
believe me, from the anguish of my heart. I feel that
these men are not doing their duty by their country, nay
by their own conscience. If these men are not prepared
to come into the work-a-day world, then I implore on
bended knees, all the religious heads of Hinduism to

combine and determine the essentials of Hinduthwa and then ask people to follow them. I do not say that there should be a stereotyped form of Hindu Religion giving no freedom to differ but we must know definitely its essentials and non-essentials. Our Religious heads only can bring this about. Cannot they induce all their followers—amongst them, I find men of different types, from the Rulers to the beggars in the streets—to make it a religion to worship every day our Motherland? If they will give this new angle of vision to our people, very soon all our sorrows and differences will disappear.

Worship of the Mother.

I humbly suggest to all our religious leaders that they should make the Dasara (Puja) holidays an intense activity of regenerating all the Hindus, taking stock of all work done in the previous year and making every Hindu from Katmandu to Cape Comorin and from the Hindukush mountains to the Eastern borders of Assam to think of Hindusthan, its glory, and its present fallen state and the steps to be taken in the next year remembering what our forefathers said in the Rigveda :

“Let us not cut ourselves away either from our
“past or from the future ; thus praying, we strive
“to secure the powers of our fathers.”

Every one of us should implore the Great Mother to give us strength and regenerate us. A map of India with the Divine Mother with all her glory standing on it should be the image which should be worshipped throughout these ten days. Since all sects of the Hindus

worship the Mother aspect of the Almighty, no one will raise any objection to this celebration of the Mother standing in the middle of Mother India. Such an image should be modelled out of *Panchhaloka* with which the images in our temples are created. In addition to repeating *Purushasukta* we must mutter various *slokas* from the Bhagavat Gita, while doing *Abhishekam* to this image. Every temple and shrine should contain such an image, just as all temples have an image of Ganapati. There should be demonstrations of physical strength in every village and town, which should culminate on the *Vijayadasami* day all over India. The Hindu Maharajas, Rajas and Chiefs should take complete stock of what they had done in the previous year to regenerate the portion of the country which is under their direct control. They should plan out schemes to infuse intense love of the Motherland in the hearts of their subjects, instead of merely arranging passing pleasures for the people. There should be greetings by wire, letters and word of mouth between Hindus of every denomination. Various Hindu Societies and temples should exchange greetings with similar institutions of other provinces. Steps should be taken to clean every Hindu house in every village and town and get them whitewashed, wherever it is necessary.

In these days, the Dasara holidays are spent in empty pleasures processions and aimless travel which do not help the Hindus to feel as One Nation. Unless we give a new angle of vision to our Dasara holidays they will not be of any use to us. If our

religious leaders will at least take steps to bring about this motherland worship and the celebration of Dasara. On the same days all over our Bharatbhakanda, they will be rendering the greatest of service to our motherland.

Our Temples.

This leads me to the present day position of our temples. The question of temples has come to the forefront on account of Gandhiji's sincere and persistent agitation about temple entry for Harijans. Many of those, who are either for entry or against it are being carried away by mere sentiment. Many of us have forgotten that our temples were responsible for the creation of the greatest philosophers, like Sankaracharya, Ramanjacharya and Madhwacharya, and for great saints like Chaitanya, Ramdas, Tukaram, Tulasidas, Meerabai, Sri. Ramakrishna Paramahansa and a number of others. Our temples are responsible for our best literature and poems. These were sung in the temples and in praise of the deities by our Alvars and Nayanars : But for the temples such great devotional songs could never have seen the light of day. Further, our temples gave the inspiration and scope for all our great works of art, sculpture, painting and dancing. We need only look at our great temples even in photos to be convinced of these. Hence those of our countrymen who talk of the abolition of temples are only talking through their hats.

Myself, being a Hindu of Southern India and having been taught more about English literature, I am unable to quote such instances of Northern Indian

Nayanars and Alvars : but it is a well-known fact that most of the songs sung by our Saints were in praise of the Dieties. Have our temples of the 19th and 20th centuries produced one Nayanar or one Alwar? The answer is a sorrowful NO. What is the reason? Has our Supreme Lord left those images and gone away finding that we are unworthy to be blessed by Him? This is a perplexity to me. It is not for me—an obscure Hindu—to give an answer.

Degeneration of Temples.

You are aware that our sacred worship in temples has further been brought under ridicule not only by hostile preachers of other religions but by the deep ignorance of priests and devotees about temples and the significance of such pujas. Our people have, in addition to such ignorance, brought such worship to be laughed at, by setting up images at every imaginable place to be neglected later on. Such mushroom growth of temples must be put a stop to, which is not at all a difficult matter. In this connection, I may tell you what a Hindu Dewan of an Indian State did some years ago. He found that some persons were taking advantage of the sentiment of the people and were making way-side trees, niches and corners as the abodes of Deities. He hit upon a clever device to allay the sentiment of the people. After taking statistics of all such places he got the Maharaja to pass an order to the following effect. The order was pasted prominently at every one of those so-called shrines. The order ran :—

“We the ruler have already built temples in such

Our Religious Festivals. . . .

There are numerous festivals in our Temples. Some are of all India importance and many are of local interest. Hindus gather in their thousands and hundreds according to the importance of the festivals. It is often a familiar sight to see preachers of foreign Religions expressing the views of hostile Religions against Hinduism and praising their own religions and actually asking people to leave off Hinduism and join their fold standing not far away from the temples! Be it said to our glory that on no occasion the vast majority of Hindus have ever molested these preachers, even though they were only a handful of people. Let some one go to Mecca or Rome and try to preach a Religion which is not the religion of the place they will soon find out what kind of *religious* persons are those who have gathered in those places! Woe to the man who dares to speak anything against those Religions! I am only pointing out this aspect to draw your attention to the fact that very rarely we see Hindu Religious men taking opportunities of huge gatherings to make the people understand the broad tenets of Hinduism.

Our Religious heads should take steps to remove this defect by arranging simple and graphic talks to the people during those festivals. What a lot of energy and deep faith are manifested during such assemblies! These should be harnessed and forged into a spiritual fervour to regenerate our country and to make people realise that such festivals do not support plurality of Gods. Our simple people should be taught the answers and explana-

tions to the various attacks, which are made on our religion by its opponents. These temples should be places radiating spiritual forces as otherwise they have no right to our reverence and they cannot be called *Temples*.

Some people will say that our temples are places of sin and superstitions. If they were so it is impossible for me to believe that they could have created such giant intellects like our Acharyas, who are the admiration of the present day world. If temples can create a Tukaram, a Ramakrishna Paramahansa, and a Ramana Maharishi how can we say that they are *not* places of spiritual power? A number of temples have no doubt fallen from their original positions. It is the duty of our Religious heads to regenerate them.

India, our only Home.

Our Religious Heads should remember that there is no other country for us to call our own, except this India of ours. Think of the treatment Indians get in South Africa, Canada, Australia and in other parts of the world. While every foreigner has got a right to come to our land and practise his profession, provided that foreigner's country is not at war with Britain, we are treated everywhere as "untouchables," perhaps as a just retribution for our behaviour towards our own brethren the Harijans. Here also the Law of Karma works its own destiny but we do not take any trouble to prevent such fruits of our Karma at least in the future. We once thought that in Burmah and Ceylon, which are affiliated with us by various ties we will be treated as equals.

Even there of late, we have found we are not wanted. Hence we find that we have no other land in the whole wide world which we can call our own, except this dear land of ours from the Himalayas to the seas and from Peshawar to the borders of Manipur in Assam. If we are reduced to the position of minorities even here, then our race and religion will soon become extinct. If the Muslims get the upper hand then this great race of Hindus will disappear from this world. A glance at the census is quite sufficient to prove that in North India a very large percentage of Hindus have become converts to Mahammadanism and in the south an increasing percentage of people are becoming Christians. I have already quoted the population of Christians and I need give now only the population of Muslims.

57,423,839 in 1911 census.

59,195,000 in 1921 do.

65,662,868 in 1931 do.

An appeal to Sanathanists.

Have our Sanathanists thought about these? Do they think that as a minority we can ever exist as a nation with our Religion in this land, with bitterly hostile Religions fighting against us? At least Christians do not show such bitterness. They only feel sorry that such human souls like that ours are going to Hell, though the way for Heaven is shown by Lord Jesus! But our Sanathanists will say that the conversion is not due to the urge of Religion but it is due to "Belly." Even admitting that a large number go out of Hinduism for the sake of "belly" the children of these "belly"

converts become bigoted anti-Hindus. Muslims often say—it was said so during the Moplah Rebellion—that the outrages committed during riotings are not done by Muslims by birth but by these converts from Hinduism. Our Sanathanists forget that every convert is not only a loss to Hinduism but we are creating a fresh enemy to Hinduism. (Cheers).

We cannot be ignorant of the fact that other Religionists use our social customs, mainly “untouchability” as the strongest platform to call our brethren to leave Hinduism and join their folds. Of late there is another Danger to our Motherland as pointed out in the earlier part of this address. The Muslims call themselves a “separate Nation”. If this idea grows still further in their minds then they will be tempted to take all steps to convert more and more of Hindus to Mahammadanism as numbers give a status. Look at the whole of our frontiers from Sind to Kashmir. These portions were once full of Hindus. But alas! At the present day the very Hindus are not able to live safely there. Read about the massacres—brutal fierce, demonic masaaacres of innocent men, women and children without even a warning being given to them—which have taken place at Kohat, Sukkur and many other places. Read about the kidnappings and murders, which take place in spite of the British Army stationed on the Western front at a cost of half of our Revenues. A systematic step is daily being taken by Muslims to completely efface that portions of the country of all non-Muslims. Let our Sanathanists think of these. Let them not behave like

the frogs in the well. Sometimes I feel that a number of Sanathanists should be gathered from all over India and they should all be settled in these portions of our land at least for six months (laughter). Then they will realise that they have been in a fool's paradise, talking about untouchability and superiority of one caste over another caste.

Suddhi.

Many of us, who have been thinking on this subject feel that some of the best remedies to save our ancient Nation from extinction is by taking every legitimate means to take back all those converts, who had left Hinduism by Suddhi and to allow Temple entry for Harijans, as the surest way of removing the sentimental logic of untouchability, and to take every step which will prevent our people from going out of Hinduism. If the Sanathanists think that there are better remedies let them not keep their secrets in their inmost hearts but let them come out openly and not only talk about their remedies but immediately take steps to bring them into practicalities, instead of going in deputations to the Governors of Provinces and worrying with telegrams the only independent Hindu King of this word—I mean Nepal. With prostrations at the feet of every Sanathanist I beg of them to think of the Grave Danger that is steadily moving, crushing on its path our Hinduism like the modern tanks used in the present war. Otherwise they will never get salvation. (Cheers).

Do not think that I am using such language to excite you. Almost all of you who are present here have

known me for a number of years. In such a meeting of a small number of friends I need not take to such tactics. Believe me when I say that I have spent sleepless nights thinking over this subject for the last three years. The more I think about this, the more I feel the Danger. Some of you have shared my thoughts for over six months ; we have been discussing them almost every week. These various thoughts in this address are not solely that of mine, but they are the thoughts of a few others also. They do not want to come into the limelight expressing the thoughts to others. It is by their unanimous command that I have taken this responsibility of speaking to you. The thoughts are those of many but the language is that of mine.

Friends! Do not abuse and condemn the Sanathanists however blind they may be. We have already enough of parties quarrelling with one another. Let us not create another by harsh language. Whenever an opportunity occurs talk to them quietly and use the Socratic method of cornering them. Last year an elderly gentleman of about 70 years, I brought round to my view point by showing him the census figures and a map of India proposed to be divided by the Muslims as Muslim Zone and Hindu Zone. Hence please use polite method in attacking them.

Our Temple Funds.

Whatever the attacks of hostile preachers within and outside the Hindu fold against Temples may be, they are increasing in numbers and many of the famous ones

have got enormous wealth. These funds are not at all utilized properly. Formerly our Hindu Kings were looking after these funds and they were used for propagation of our Religious concepts and Religious Associations. Even now in most of the Hindu States there is a separate Department, which looks after the temple affairs and funds, under the direct control of the Maharaja. The subject of temples is not within the jurisdiction of the popular assemblies as these are generally composed of men who are hostile to our Religion. But what about the hostility of those who live under the name of Hindus and yet day in and day out abuse our Religion, our temples and our religious practices in the States and in British India? If such men get control of the temples what will be the fate of them? Hence we the worshippers in the temples should form associations and see that the funds are strictly used for the advancement of our Religion and for nothing else. Sometime ago it was proposed that these funds should be used for the amelioration of lepers. It is an outrageous suggestion. (Cheers). Suppose such a suggestion is put forward about the funds of Muslims and Christians what will they think of such a suggestion? They will create a revolution. But as for the Hindu funds every one be he Hindu or be he non-Hindu seems to have a right to meddle with it! We must rebel against this. (Cheers). Let me not be misunderstood. I am in sympathy with the attempts made to relieve the sufferings of lepers and others but this should not be done out of Hindu temple funds. These funds are for advancing our Religion and making the Hindus united in the faith of their Religion.

Temple Officials.

In British India the danger to such temples is increasing day by day. Our temples are becoming the plaything of party politics. As I already pointed out the officials, who are appointed to such temples by Government look like non-Hindus, without even wearing the ordinary caste marks on their foreheads. I do not know whether they understand the use of temples and why of the temples. I do not know whether they take steps or not to teach answers to attacks on our temples and our Religion. As far as I have enquired I have not come across of any such instances. Will they help the Hindu cause? They being Government servants how can they take part in attacking the Christian and Muslim Missionaries, who abuse our Religion? They belong to certain parties and such parties have got all sorts of persons as they have to please many members. Hence we must have control over temples just as we have in the Hindu States but as there are none here like the Maharajas with supreme authority over these servants in British India, our Religion is suffering woefully. More money is wasted in the pay and travelling allowances of these officials than in the preservation of Hindu Religion.

Religious Propaganda.

There are innumerable Sanyasies as I told you before. Why not these Temple authorities arrange with some reliable Sanayasies who have read our Religion well and who will not bring about antagonism between one sect and another sect to go about certain areas to

preach our Religion and disabuse all false notions about our Religion and temples giving them the minimum maintenance allowance? Why? Echo only answers "why". But if we are sincere and since our cause is just, I feel that we will triumph. If the worshippers in every temple form voluntary associations *not* with a view to manage the temples but with the sole view of demanding various steps to be taken to advance the Religion for which that temple exists, we can bring these officials to our knees. If they will not yield to us the remedy is with us. We will refuse to give the money to the temples but will use the money in the name of the temple in other ways. We will hoot down these officials who come to the temples without caste marks and without studying the meaning of temples and our Religion. I doubt very much whether these officials have ever read even the Bhagavad Gita, Siva Gita or, Rama Gita or even our Ramayana, Mahabharatha and Bhagavatham in *full* either in original or in translations. I am afraid that there may not be even one amongst them who would have studied all these. Will such an ignorant man about the religion of Christ be appointed to control Christian Churches? That is unthinkable.

I know that this question bristles with difficulties as we are ruled by Christians and as our officials always dovetail to their Christian Masters. Whatever that may be, we can take some steps. We can ask these officials such questions like these whenever they come to these temples. "How many Hindus you have prevented from being converted to other Religions? What

“improvement you have brought about after you
“have become an officer of the temples? How
“many Religious lectures did you arrange for the
“people regarding Hindu Religion? How many
“pamphlets you have published, just like Christian
“Missionaries do, about Hindu Religion? etc. etc”.

If we show that we are taking interest in our Religion these men will, at least with a view to safeguard their pay, begin to behave better and will take interest in the propagation of our Religion. Some years ago I saw a cartoon in which the Dancing Girls of the temples were shown to be dancing before the officials appointed by Government! The cartoonist had shown these officials with boots and shoes and hats on! At a corner of the cartoon the previous heads of Temples, before whom these women used to dance attendance, were looking on with tears in their eyes! (laughter). It is with you and me to prevent such kind of officials having control over temples in British India.

As I said before the matter is not so bad in the Indian States. But even there the indifferent policy is slowly being adopted, on account of non-Hindu and *Trisangu* Hindus being the advisers of the Rulers. Further in some States the Rulers are Hindus only in name. Then how can they infuse faith in their subjects about Hindu Religion? In all such matters our Religious Heads can take effective action. They can put before Government and the Maharajas various programmes to propagate our Religion and to strengthen it and to get rid of abuses, which have crept into our

Religion. When they have no control over the funds of these temples their advice will carry greater weight with the Government and the Maharajas than otherwise.

A request and a Warning.

I do not know what they will do or propose to do. I only request all my Hindu Brethren to ply our religious heads and all Sanyasies whenever they meet them, with questions on the fate of our Motherland and not on their individual metaphysical doubts. And ask them to tell us what they propose to save our Motherland from dismemberment, our Religion and Temples from being rescinded by enemies from within and outside and our people from being taken away to other Religions.

In their own interests I request all the Sanyasies and Sadhus to think on this aspect of the question. Some of them are reputed to have direct communion with God and if so the solution is very easy for them to get at. If they do not bestir themselves I am afraid that there will arise very soon a Beemasena, who will say in his stentorian voice :

“Let us set fire to all the Ochre cloths wrested,
“from Sanyasies of every type as these elder brothers
“of ours are gambling away the wealth that contains
“in Hindonism. Either they possess spirituality or
“they do not. If they have, let them not hide it
“under a bushel and let them show it out by
“practical work of raising our Country immediately
“to her original status. Otherwise let them throw
“away the cloths and become ordinary citizens. If

“they will not do so I will set fire to the cloths.

“Sahadeva, bring fire.” (Loud and continued cheers).

Our Mother's Sorrow.

I request all Sanyasies to forgive me this seeming insult to them. I speak in this strain as I see our Bharatha Matha standing with her feet at Cape Comorin and Head at Kashmir, and her black hair falling on her shoulders dashed by the cruel wind, without being tied up with the customary flowers. Her face is sorrowful and only the small red mark on her forehead makes me think that she has not yet lost all her hope. She asks us “when will the *Venisamharam* take place? Am I to stand for aeons without tying up my tuft of hair?” Does she get an answer? No She only hears the echo of her own voice. The voices of her 270 million children are silent and their hands are empty and hence there is no flash from their swords. How long are we going to sit idle and allow our mother to be in this position? If we will only stop our selfish and internecine quarrels our Mother's sorrow will vanish into thin air.

If we do not take some supreme efforts to compose our silly differences—if you think calmly you will find that there is absolutely no serious antagonism between the various sections of the Hindue—the coming generations will shower curses on us, their ancestors. You are aware that a few centuries ago a wise Maharaja of Kashmir asked the Pandits to agree to the wholesale re-conversion of those Hindus, who had been converted to

Mahammadanism. It would have been a child's play to do so in those days. But the narrow Pandits would not agree to it and the Maharaja had not the grit to go against the selfish sentiments of those Pandits. The result was that during the last rebellion against the Hindu Maharaja by the Muslims, the Hindu minorities suffered terrible wrongs, which even a Maharaja could not stop for sometime. The suffering men and women of the Pandit class violently cursed their idiotic ancestors for their foolishness in not agreeing to the desire of the wise Maharaja. In the same way our successors will curse us bitterly, if we do not soon compose our differences and unite. Oh! Hindus! Think of this. Ask your brother Hindus when you go out of this meeting to think of this. Otherwise we are doomed for ever and ever, and the sorrow of our mother will never end.

CHAPTER VIII.

Our Fundamental Unity.

I have already pointed out that neither our Religion nor our philosophy stands in our way of progress and unity. Even the worst of critics cannot say that there is no vital and fundamental unity amongst us, whether we live on the snowy Himalayas, in the shandy deserts of Rajaputana or at the needle point at Kanyakumari. The geographical features of our land, with its majestic and impregnable Himalayas on the north, with their branches running down to the east and west and the seas

surrounding on other sides, clearly mark our sacred land apart from our neighbours, and which proclaim in no uncertain voice that the Almighty intended our Motherland to be one and indivisible. You might have been wondering why I have a map of the world on the wall in addition to a separate map of India. Friends, look at the shape and physical features of our Motherland. How she tapers towards the south and gradually and beautifully broadens as she expands to the north, as if she is spreading her arms in loving protection of her children from Peshawar to the Eastern borders of Assam and from Khatmandu to Kanyakumari. It looks as if our Kashmir State is intended as the space for her proud head and the southern extremity is just sufficient for firmly keeping her beautiful feet, with the dazzling anklets making their sweet tinkling noise. Look at any other country in this world map and I challenge you to point out any other, which has such a symmetried shape. You will look in vain. How natural her beauty and shape are! Who dare say that such a land has no fundamental geographical unity, which is the foremost element which goes to make a country a Nation? If any one asserts to the contrary he must be either a base traitor or a person, who is fit for the mental hospital. (Laughter).

Savarkar's Description of Mother India:

It is no wonder then that our great leader Sri V. D. Savarkar in his book "Hindutwa", truly states thus about our Motherland :

"She is the richly endowed daughter of God.—

"This our Motherland. Her rivers are perennial.
"Her land is yielding to the plough and her field
"loaded with golden harvests. Her necessities of
"life are few and a genial nature yields them all,
"almost for the asking. Rich is her fauna, rich is
"her flora, she knows she owes it all to the
"immediate source of light and heat—the Sun. She
"covets not the icy lands : blessed be they and their
"frozen latitudes. If heat is at times "enervating"
"here, cold is at times benumbing there. If cold
"induces manual labour, heat removes much of its
"very necessity. She takes more delight in
"quenched thirst than in the parched throat. Those
"who have not, let them delight in exerting to have.
"But those who have—may be allowed to derive
"pleasure from the very fact of having. Father
"Thames is free to work at feverish speed, wrapped
"in his icy sheets. She loves to visit her ghats and
"watch her boats gliding down the Ganges, on her
"moonlit waters. With the plough, the peacocks,
"the lotus, the elephant and the Gita, she is willing
"to forgo, if that must be, whatever advantage the
"colder latitudes enjoy. She knows she cannot have
"all her own way. Her gardens are green and
"shady, her granaries well stocked, her waters
"crystal, her flowers scented, her fruits juicy and
"herbs healing. Her brush is dipped in the colours
"of the Dawn and her flute resonant with the music
"of Gokul. Verily Hind is the richly endowed
"daughter of God".

Besides this geographical beauty, which unites our land there are many other aspects, which go to make us a Nation.

Ideals of Unity.

The North Indian Hindu longs for a dip in the sea at Ramaswaram while the South Indian yarns to die at Benares on the banks of Gangamatha. It is hard to find even a single Hindu in our land, whose whole soul does not inwardly get a thrill when he visits Kedarnath, Badrinath, Kailas, Kasi, Puri, Rameswaram Kanyakumari or some other sacred place all within the borders of our sacred land and not in Arabia. Some of our people may openly pretend that they are not moved at visiting these places but the tiny little man residing somewhere in their physical bodies will tell them that they are false to themselves when they assert such an untruth. This is evident from what Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, the first woman Cabinet Minister of our land writes viewing her prospect of visiting the Kumba Mela at Haridwar. Such a learned woman writes :

“It was not only the idea of Kumba Mela that
“attracted me but somewhere, deep down in the
“sub-conscious, the blood of some devout Brahmin
“ancestor stirred within me, and all my modern
“training was not equal to the task of suppressing
“the desire for a dip in the holy pool-Satikund”.

I fervently pray that the Almighty will always see that such “desires” do never vanish from the hearts of all Hindu Mothers and Sisters. (Cheers).

You are all aware that Sita is still the ideal of our womanhood inspite of all the efforts of a few hot headed impetuous, cameleon like English educated women of our country. Every Hindu male from the Maharaja to the starving labourer, whether he is 'pure or absolutely wicked and immoral, wants his wife to be a Sita unto him. Rama is the ideal man put before us. Sri Rama set the ideal monogamy and which Hindu woman of India would like to change such an ideal to that of the modern Dancing Partners? Is there a Hindu in our vast Mother-land who is not thrilled and moved when he reads the Ramayana and the Mahabharata? If these Epics and the Iliad are placed side by side and if a Hindu is asked to say which is his, can you have any doubt that he or she will choose the former to the latter? The laws enacted by Manu still govern us from birth to death with slight variations all over our land. Our ancestors did not establish sacred Religious places in various corners of the country without a meaning. It is enough if you look at the geographical positions of Kailas, Badrinath, Dwaraka, Puri, Kasi, Chidambaram, Thirupathi, Kanyakumari and Rameswaram to understand the great unity which they had established. If a Hindu visits these places he cannot but feel that he is in a place, which is his by right of birth in the Hindu community from whichever part of India he may be coming over there.

Opinion of Foreigners.

I can multiply such instances but this aspect alone will form a separate address and as I have still much to

say before I finish my present address I merely quote what an impartial foreign Historian says. The late Mr. Vincent A. Smith I. C. S. says in *the Oxford History of India* :

“India, beyond all doubt, possesses an underlying fundamental unity, *far more profound* than that produced by either geographical isolation or by political suzerainty. *That unity transcends the innumerable diversities of blood, colour, language, dress, manners and sect.*” (Italics mine).

Such is the verdict of a member of the Heaven-born services in India, who are the real Rulers of India. Such an opinion was not given at the heat of the moment but after a long service of more than a quarter century in India and that after a few years of retirement. Hence this opinion of Mr. Smith cannot at all be criticised as either that of an enthusiast or that of a blind admirer or that of an ignorant man

Sir Herbet Risley states in *The People of India* that:

“beneath the manifold diversity of physical and social type, language, custom and Religion, which strikes the observer in India, there can still be discerned a certain underlying uniformity of life from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. There is in fact an *Indian Character, a general Indian personality*, which we cannot resolve into its “common elements”.

Even the *Simon Commission Report* was forced to admit, though reluctantly, of the fundamental unity of

India. The learned authors of that Report say :

"There are civilizations of equal antiquity with that of India which have passed completely away : but in much of India there is an unchanged outlook on life, a continuing social tradition, and a characteristic philosophy that endures. Hindu orthodoxy is still governed by interpretations of the contents of the Vedas. Systems of medicines which are coeval with Hipocrates still have their exponents and their adherents The ancient social system of Hinduism.....continues to control the lives and thoughts of more than 200 out of the 320 millions of the population of India, with a persistence and authority undreamed of in the Western World".

When our opponents admit our fundamental unity why should I trouble you any further regarding details Hence let us not be hoodwinked if others say that we have castes and creeds and hence we are not a Nation Let the fools, who say so, be in their land of hatred but let us, firmly believing in this God—given Fundamental unity, work to make it stronger and stronger. The fact that Mr. Jinnah is very anxious to prove that we have no unity, that itself proves just the contrary ! Laughter

CHAPTER IX.

Signs of Danger.

Gandhiji has already warned us regarding the rising tide of Provincialism, when the Congress was working the reforms. We see that little ripples in the Ocean of

Hinduism are being stirred by various persons so that they may become great waves destroying our Unity. Just as the elephant throws mud on its own head some of our countrymen are blindly, on account of personal bickerings, hatred and disappointments, in the guise of "leaders" are attempting to bring a disruption to this great unity. There are people who talk of each Province as if it is an independent entity and that it should not be guided in its policy with the outlook of an All-India unity. They do not want to feel that our Bharatha Matha is the Ancient Mother, who has been unifying us for the last so many centuries. Unless this tendency amongst the Hindus—fortunately at present only amongst a minority of persons—is suppressed with all our forces there may arise the gravest Danger—far more great than the Pakistan Danger—to our Holy land. Let us all squarely face this rising Danger and scorch its hood. I have no time to deal with this matter in detail but I would only just point out the story that the various parts of the body refused to work saying "why should we work for the Belly" and succeeded in killing the body and themselves we will kill Our Mother, and ruin ourselves.

The Remedies.

There should be a central Government or a central organisation, which must have the deciding voice in all important matters affecting the larger aspect of the country, and provincialism which goes against this should be suppressed. Each Province should be made to progress only in those aspects of economic and

industrial possibilities for which it is best suited. For instance suppose a Province is very well suited for a certain industrial concern another Province should not be allowed to compete with it in any way, which will be injurious to that industry. There must be interdependence in various ways, so that a single Province should not become self sufficient, just as our Temples are not self sufficient in a certain Province. They are scattered all over India and a devout Hindu is not satisfied by visiting merely the temples in his own Province. He has the sincere desire to visit other Provinces where there are temples.

Legislatures.

The Legislatures in each Province should create various conventions so that one Province does not look on the other with any jealousy. For instance when ameliorative works, such as Prohibition, fixing of the pay of the labourers, housing conditions of labourers, Agricultural Debt Reliefs, and loans to agriculturists should be practically based on the same principle, throughout India, with slight variations, to suit the local interests. That is why I spoke approvingly of the iron control of the Congress High Command, even though many have been talking that by such control provincial autonomy was made null and void.

Conflicts between Provinces?

Every step should be taken to avoid conflict between province and province. Of course some times silly and foolish points of jealousy arise, which one need not care

for. For instance in Tamil Nadu, one great objection is taken to the alleged fact that no North Indian town or village uses the name of any South Indian for their parks streets or reading rooms, while in South India we are often using *Nehru park, Gandhi Nagar, Patel reading room etc.* These critics, if they had an iota of love for Bharatha Matha, would not raise such silly objections. I do not know whether as a matter of fact that North Indians never express their admiration of South Indian in this way. Whatever that may be we South Indians can certainly be proud of a Sankara going all over India and conquering the rest of India to his philosophy. The Chaitanaya movement uses a book-Krishna Karnamritham-- which was a treatise written by a South Indians as their important book in the Vaishnava cult prevalent in North India. Are these intellectual "conquests" of North India by the South Indian of no consequence? The North Indian has practically accepted the philosophy taught by the South Indian and he does not feel that the South Indian has "invaded" North India, as some south Indians state that the North Indian has "invaded South India". But when the dastardly Moplahs murdered and forcibly converted thousands of Hindus at Malabar it is the North Indian, who sent lacs of Rupees to help the suffering Hindus and took back the Hindus into the Hindu fold. When there were heavy floods in South India ruining many a family, it was North India, which contributed large some of money to help the people at large. Even in these days thousands and thousands of South Indians find employments in every province of

North India. Hence we must realise that India is one and we should take all steps which help each province to endeavour to keep always the all India idea before the people in some way or other.

Education.

Our students in Schools and Colleges are not at all taught to be proud of their country. The other day before the Public service commission a student stated that Travancore is a town in Cochin! This mistake of the student effectively proves how our Educational authorities neglect Indian History and Geography. These should be taught in such a way as to rouse the patriotic fervour of the students. At present these subjects are taught in a dry and dusty manner. Our Graduates should not be given their degrees till they have travelled all over India and visited various parts of our Motherland. The railway and Motor companies should be made to give them extremely cheap tickets so that even the man of ordinary means may be able to take advantage and travel all over our motherland. There should be frequent exchange of Professors between Provinces so that the students and Professors may get to know persons of other Provinces. All petty red-tapism *against admission of a graduate from one University to another* for higher studies should be removed. In fact such a system of students joining other Universities should be liberally encouraged.

Impractical Education.

It is admitted by one and all that the present day

education of our young men is unsuitable to them. They are not able to equip themselves to the hard realities of life. They want some jobs in which they will be able to earn a decent sum so that they may live comfortably. They are only fit for the learned profession and for Government jobs. Both these avenues of employment are already over-crowded and hence they find that they are jobless. They have been accustomed to a certain standard of life and hence their position is really miserable. Those of them, who have patrimony and those who have not been fortunate enough to get such a patrimony both try to get some jobs and if possible wives with patrimony or father-in-law in some influential positions (laughter). When they fail they become disheartened.

I will show you a little later on that only we, the English educated persons, who are the real cause for all the communal bickerings. The best remedy is to turn these young men from jobs under Government and direct them to other walks of life. In other countries about 4000 avenues of livelihood are open to the people but in our country such large opportunities are not given to our educated young men. It is because their education is such that they are unable to do anything else except becoming clerks. How to change this education is not a matter which I can speak here. It is for those who are long considering the matter to create the remedy. It is the job of those who govern us to get rid of this unemployment problem. Further, if I am to discuss this aspect then it will become a subject in itself

consuming more than an hour or two. I would only say that vocational training suitable to the young men should be given in the High School classes so that the students may be able to use their hands instead of merely their "wits" in earning a livelihood as Gandhiji has already realised. Further those who are not in need of jobs on account of lucky patrimony should avoid hankering after Government jobs. We have often noticed very rich men using all their influence to get some jobs for their sons even though they have no necessity to make a living by such jobs. They should look to some other vocations, which will not take such jobs from some needy men. It may be asked that if there is a genius of a rich man, is he to hide his light under a bushel and die unknown? If there are such men then they should take the jobs at a sacrifice, which will not attract others to those jobs. Further Governmental jobs should be made irksome ones so that they will not attract a large number in a competitive way.

The Why of our disunity.

I said that the English educated persons are the real cause for our communal bickerings. Let me quote Dr. Katja, a minister of U. P. He said:

"I have become sick of hearing the cry of 'minorities in Danger. During the 27 months of my office I have heard nothing but cries of 'Jobs, 'jobs, and jobs' "

The Prime Minister of Punjab said at the Rotary Club at Lahore:

“My analysis of the communal problem is that it is a question of loaves and fishes...the Communal problem is not a Religious problem but it is really a mundane materialistic problem”.

Let me quote a South Indian Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chetty, who is a great exponent of this aspect of political life in our country. He is one of the foremost men expounding the views of the “Justice Party” in our Presidency, though he does not take an active interest in it always. He said two years ago in a “budget speech at the Cochin State”:

“I am a great believer in the principles of communal justice in the matter of appointments to the public services. The ideal of Nationalism in India could be strongly implanted only by a fearless recognition of the principle of communal representation, which is an inevitable corollary to the existing social order in India. It is the refusal to accept this inexorable fact of our political life that has led to communal bickerings and strife. The principle of communal representation in India is in no way antithesis to nationalism. It is no use to brush aside this great problem with the contemptuous observation that the problem is created by a few job hunters. After all there is nothing dishonourable or undemocratic in an individual asking the State to give him some work to do”.

The Selfish English Educated Indians.

From these quotations it is absolutely clear that the

“principle of communal justice” is merely providing Governmental jobs to ENGLISH educated persons. I have very carefully read the speeches of most of the important persons, who are believing in the principle of communal representation. I have never noticed even a distant allusion to steps to be taken to give food to the vast number of the masses. Their idea of communal “justice” is jobs for English educated persons, paid out of the taxes of the vast number of people and nothing else.

Does Swaraj mean more Governmental jobs to Indians? Will giving Government jobs to *every English educated Indian* bring about the independence of India? Can the millions of masses be better off just because some English educated persons in each of their community get some jobs? I think you will all admit—I am glad to find that various sections of Hindus having different jobs are represented in this meeting—that such “jobs” only help the English educated persons and *not* others. Have you ever looked into the statistics of Governmental jobs? People are carried away by the few persons who get jobs and think that all can get jobs. It is a Godsend that there can be only a limited percentage of the people, who can get government jobs as otherwise—I say it as usual with the present company excepted—that there will be more and more slaves in our land. I think even those Government servants, who have honoured me by being present in this meeting will not hesitate to accept that they are useless to the country at large. They lose their independence in the red-tapism, which governs Government servants and they

become narrow, with all those bickerings in government jobs. I repeat that I except the present company. (Laughter). The fact that my friends of Government have been patiently hearing me shows that they are really exceptions to the general rule. But these exceptions really go to prove my points.

Percentage of Governmental Jobs.

The Montague Chelmsford Report with an authority which no one can question says :

"India gives out of every hundred 71 to agricultural or pasture, 12 to Industry, 5 to trade, 2 to domestic service, $1\frac{1}{2}$ to the professions and $1\frac{1}{2}$ to *government service* or the army."

You are all surprised at this. I think none of us can ever question the statistics of $1\frac{1}{2}\%$ to government jobs. Even take it at 2% at the present day. Then think of this. For the sake of 2% of English Educated persons all these communal troubles are roused up by "leaders", who go about the country with the cries "jobs, jobs and more jobs". Is it not disgraceful that we the English educated persons should be the cause for all these shameful quarrels? It is the same case whether we look amongst the various sections of the English Educated Hindus or amongst the English Educated minorities. Both are absolutely selfish human beings, who do not look to the benefit of the country at large.

An illogical Argument.

There is a fallacy, which is being subtly propagated by various persons and by the policy of the Government-

We have been made to believe that an Indian can only get justice and fairness from a man of his own Religion-Community or caste. Hence when a man of a certain section is appointed to Government job the whole Community is made to believe that it is benefited as if *the community* is raised to a higher position and that the man with a job for his mantle will mete out justice to *his* community better than a man of another community. As I said the policy of the Government has given a seal to such ideas and that we are getting more and more into this deep mire from which it is the duty of all persons who love our country to raise us. Otherwise we will be soon thinking of jobs and nothing else, while our country is being ruined on all sides.

The policy of the Government.

Our Government has by its policy split us into water tight compartments by always bringing to the notice of the people that they belong to separate communities with separate interests. Instead of taking steps to bring about unity, the policy of the government has accentuated our communal feelings. Government is always ready to fan the communal virus in us. I remember that King Amanulla refused to receive a separate address from the Hindu subjects saying that the Hindus also are Afghans and that he could not recognise them as a separate community. But you will find that our Government is always ready to receive communal deputations, communal addresses and communal talks.

This policy is not a mere accident with the British.

Imperialists. But it is a deliberate, cool and calculated method of the Britishers. If you will probe into the various disruptive movements, whether among the Hindus or against the Hindus in India, you will always find that the father of such a movement is an English official. Lord Morley, that rare honest Statesman amongst the English politicians wrote to Lord Minto that the latter started the "communal hare", That hare has given births as here as always do, (laughter) to a number of vicious children. In fact these children have converted themselves into plague germs to our Mother land. That policy is the basis for all the constitutions of India evolved out of the brains of the Englishmen. In fairness to Lord Minto, I must say, that he was only carrying out a policy planned by his predecessors. Mr. Leonard, M. Schiff in his book "The present conditions of India" quotes from the Asiatic Journal of so long ago as 1821 a writer who had stated that "*divid et impera* should be the motto of our Indian administration." This view was supported by a military officer quoted by the same author that 'our endeavour should be to uphold in full force the (for us, fortunate) separation which exists between the different religions not to endeavour to amalgamate them!' In such a vast country there will always be men and women, who are able to influence a certain amount of people and who are ready to bring about disruption for some official favours. The Britishers have taken full advantage of this situation.

That the Government has been consistently following this policy in our land up to this date is patent.

However let me support my point of view by quoting Mr. H. C. Mukerjee, the President of the All-India Christians. The other day he said :

"The history of the communal award amply
"bears out the view that the policy followed by the
"British Government is perhaps more responsible
"than any other single factor for the accentuation
"of the communal problem in its political aspect."

Every one will agree with this. This poison has not only invaded the political life of our country but every other aspects of our lives in India. Hence it is the feeling that a man can only get justice from his own community.

The Communal Maya.

Let us calmly look at this aspect. Does a man get justice only from a man of his own community? We have had in the course of the last two or three decades many Indians belonging to various communities occupying high positions under Government. We have had Brahmins, non-Brahmins, Indian Christians, Muslims as Executive Councillors, even as Governors, High Court Judges, Dewans of Indian States and in many other walks of life. These persons have been receiving a very high pay for a number of years. While jobs on 30 Rs. per month for young men are not provided, we find such high officials receiving thousands of Rupees as pay for single individuals. Grateful Maharajas give larger and larger pay to their advisers, while their subjects are starving. I have studied the

lives of a number of these countrymen of ours. I think you will all agree with me that these persons have never spent their huge wealth in helping large number of persons of their own castes or religion. In fact they deliberately omit to do anything in a large scale to their own particular caste or community, when they are in offices, lest they are criticised by the public at large. You will find that if any benefit is done to some communities they will be not by members of that community. Take for instance the uplift of Harijans. You will find when you study this one single aspect, that non-Harijans have done more work for the uplift of the Harijans than the Harijans themselves. So is the case with regard to the women's movement. So is the case in giving jobs.

“Job” men not useful.

Look again at the lives of these men with big jobs or small jobs under government. Have these men after their retirement used their wealth like a Carnegie or a Rockefeller according to their means? You cannot point out even one instance of these men generously spending the wealth, which they had earned out of the taxes of the people for the uplift of the people. No doubt they buy glittering diamonds for their wives and daughters and they build huge palaces for themselves, their children and grand children so that they may all live happily. They are on the whole a selfish lot of human beings, who pretend that their own community is elevated in *their* elevation. If you think calmly you will find that it is the members of the nobility and the

merchant classes, who have built schools, temples, hospitals and *chatrams* and not these English educated persons with huge pay. It is the less educated person, who gives a handful of rice to the beggar without a grumble. Peons and dogs in front of the residences of these "big" men with huge pay prevent poor men and women from approaching even the gates (laughter) of the "big" men and hence they do not know that people starve for a morsel of food, while they eat all luxuries. We educated persons when a beggar comes to our houses speak of the "beggar nuisance" and talk of legislation.

These instances will prove to you that it is merely a chimera, a *mayz* to believe that just because a few persons are given jobs, their communities will rise to a high position. It is a nonsense as we daily witness. Ask yourselves the question whether you have been benefited by members of your own community or by others. As the Tamil proverb says "diseases which are born along with us kill us, while a herb which is grown on a mountain cures such diseases," it is not our own kith and kin and our own castemen, who are our real helpers but others. Take again the service rendered by agriculturists. Most of us are not agriculturists but we are all benefited by these persons. You and I do not do the scavengers work. But will you not admit that they do the greatest good to the public at large? So is the case in every walk of life. Hence it is an utter nonsense to state that particular members of a caste should be given jobs to elevate that very community. It all depends upon the way in which these men work. What

I want to impress upon you is that this question of communal representation has given the idea to many that an Indian cannot get justice from a man of another caste or of another Religion. This psychology is ruining our country.

A Vicious Tendency.

Mr. Chetty plainly states that our communal problem in plain words our separatist tendency, is nothing but rivalry for Government jobs. He calls this as "an inevitable corollary to the existing social order in India and that it is an inexorable fact of our political life". From these graphic expressions you will find that he is not putting this view as an universal proposition but as a particular remedy suitable only to our country. Every one deplores this unfortunate tendency, which has been often fanned by the communal policy of the Government as stated by Mr. Mukerjee. Yet a learned man like Mr. Chetty wants to perpetuate this evil by giving statutory recognition. To get rid of thieves allow every one to steal: to get rid of drunkenness allow every one to brew his own beer seems to be the argument of Mr. Chetty. (laughter) This communal job mentality has only increased the communal feelings.

How this position is working in a vicious circle was revealed the other day. A member of the Cochin Legislative Council complained during the budget debate that his taluk has not been given its lawful dues in communal representation of Government jobs! If this cry is taken up by others also you can imagine the disastrous results which will follow, if you remember

that not more than 1% at the utmost, in that tiny State of Cochin, of the English educated people can ever hope to get government jobs. This 1% must be divided amongst so many communities on account of the "inexorable fact of our political life"! In this connection I should like to state what the Railway member of the Imperial Government at New Delhi said last year in the course of the debate regarding jobs in the Railway. He asserted that a number of officers in the department do not punish their subordinates even when they richly deserved punishment as the latter belong to different communities! The superior officers are afraid to punish them thinking that such punishments would be construed as due to communal feelings! Hence he, as the member in charge in that department had to punish such officers. You see again how the vicious circle works.

However it must also be admitted that the communal bickerings have been accentuated by the arrogant behaviour and sometimes the partial attitude of Government servants towards the people and their subordinates. If the injured person happens to belong to some other community, at once he begins to nurture a grievance against the community to which the superior officer belongs. These Government officials in addition to becoming abject slaves create unnecessary communal troubles by their often thoughtless conduct. I would appeal to every one here to put this view before Government officials is whenever you get an opportunity and request them to see that they do not give cause to such grievances.

No doubt the educated persons should be given some-work to do but the remedy, should not be ruining the-very cause itself. When Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chetty states that an individual has the right to ask the State to give him "some work to do" he only means Government jobs and not other jobs. I have quoted the views of Mr. Chetty as he is the best exponent of this view in South India.

Government jobs, no solvent for Communal Trouble.

When twenty years ago there was a cry for jobs for non-Brahmins, the Malabar Nairs, who are non-Brahmins took that opportunity and obtained a number of jobs under Government. Now you ask any non-Brahmin Government servant in Tamil Nadu who is not a Nair, he shows the same opposition to the Nairs as he did twenty years ago to the Brahmins. You see how the vicious circle works! If the Nairs are thrown out and if another caste of non-Brahmins come to the forefront then a time will come when that caste will be opposed. Hence it is I say that by giving government jobs to 2 per cent of Indians the communal problem cannot be solved. No doubt the Brahmins who had taken to Government jobs—i. e., to slavery at first—are in large numbers in various departments. They should be directed to other walks of life but that should not be done by creating another kind of communal problem. The Brahmins before whom the ideal of renunciation is always placed, I hope will rise to the occasion, and avoid

hereafter at least this slavery under government and thus give no cause for this communal trouble fomented by certain persons. May I remind the Brahmins that according to Manu, the Brahmin who accepts work under another loses his Brahminhood and becomes an *Apbrahmana*?

The Brahmins

The present day Brahmins are coming into hatred, not merely because their "Government-job-mentality" but also because of their undoubted failure to keep up to the ideals placed before them by the Sasthras. I can boldly say that not even 15% of them understand the meaning of the ceremonies which they do mechanically. A large number of them have lost their one time virtues of purity of life, utter sacrifice in the name of their Religion and all other virtues for which they were once famous. The people of India were at their feet not because they were rich or intelligent but because they were virtuous men with no vices. Can that be said of most of the Brahmins of the present day? Not at all. the Gita says:—

"Serenity, self-restraint, austerity, purity, forgiveness and also uprightness, wisdom, knowledge, belief in God, are the Brahmana duty".

Judged by the standard of this verse, can we say that there are many Brahmins in these days? The present day Brahmins are only living on the virtues of their forefathers! No doubt they have done great service to Hinduism. At a time when hordes and hordes of our people were being forcibly converted to other Religions,

the Brahmins preserved the Hindu Religion and were prepared to do any sacrifice to save this Great Religion. But alas! they have fallen from their high principles! It is the duty of the Kshatrias and the non-Brahmins to *whip* the Brahmins to do their duties and act up to the behests of our Religion. I realise that there are not Rulers to look after the Brahmins as of old. Yet it is left to them not to completely loose their souls for material comforts. The saddest thing in the Brahmin youth of to-day is that he is always dreaming of a Government job and finding that in this field others are entering, he is becoming desperate. He has lost faith in himself. He has forgotten that he is a soul, which is industructable. To find a job has become a night-mare to him, just as it is slowly becoming to others also.

When we seriously view this question we will have to come to the conclusion that our education should redirect us to various other avenues of life and not towards Government jobs. It was most funny to find the Dewan of Cochin asking the Depressed Classes to enter the "Temple of Government" jobs instead of Hindu temples! Can the Dewan provide Government jobs to all the educated members of the Depressed classes? It is an impossibility. On the other hand if temple entry is allowed every one can enter into the temple. Yet a Dewan puts this slavish idea of Governmental jobs into the minds of every member of the Depressed classes, as if everyone can obtain a job! Let me not be misunderstood by my brothers, who are here and who belong to that noble community of Harijans. What I want to

impress upon you is that jobs under Government will never take away the unemployment in any community. We have to take other steps to bring this about.

Ways and Means for Employment.

Suppose by an act of Government the prices of paddy, potatoes, tea, coffee and other agricultural products are raised, do you not think that will bring about a more speedy prosperity in the country and reduce unemployment than finding jobs for young men of those communities who follow such avocations? There are a large number of articles, which we grow in India and yet foreign countries dump them in our land. While Tanjore and Malabar grow paddy and while Belgaum and the Nilgiris grow potatoes we are unable to get proper sale for these articles. Yet Burma and Italy dump their rice and potatoes respectively on India.

While Kerala (I include Cochin and Travancore in this) is suffering for want of good price for their coconuts, Ceylon, which has begun to treat Indians as absolute foreigners, dumps its coconuts and thus spoils the trade of Kerala. Coconut shells have been in great demand for creating a certain gas for use in War and yet the Kerala people are not being benefitted inspite of their enormous advantage to supply these shells. Paper manufacture is an easy process and on account of war, the cost of paper has risen very high and yet practically no steps have been taken by any of the Provinces or by the Indian States to take full advantage of the situation to oust the foreign trade from India.

Every year millions of Rupees are being sent out of India for buying cars. Though it is an impossibility, inspite of wars, to manufacture at present cars in India, certainly tyres. can be manufactured in India by Indian labourers, with Indian capital as we have rubber in abundance in India. Yet what have the Governments in India done towards this Industry? Practically nothing.

Sometime ago, I think, it is Mahadeva Desai, Gandhiji's private Secretary, who pointed out in the *Harijan* that there are in our country dozens of foreign companies masquerading as *Indian* companies by registering separate branches here with the words "India Limited". What has prevented Indians from taking the places of all these companies and make them really Indian? All these and many other similar concerns, if started, would completely efface the unemployment problem not only of the educated but also of the uneducated in our country.

Yet none of these "communal and National leaders" apply their minds to such problems. They talk of political problems and jobs and jobs and nothing else. Even a mere agitation for starting such industries would have done much good and would never rouse any communal feelings as the question of jobs under government does.

Large Scale Industries

People talk glibly of starting large scale industries to relieve unemployment such as the manufacture of motor cars, locomotives, aeroplanes, machine guns, rifles, tanks etc. But they forget that these industries

majority which these Managing agents create in these Mills. Thus you see that even Mills do not try to relieve the vast unemployment of the educated middle classes.

Small scale Industries.

The best remedy is to concentrate our attention on small scale industries, which will distribute the wealth in a fair way into the hands of many and not concentrate it in the hands of a few persons. We have a weak tendency. If an industry is successful, immediately a number of others start the same industry and thus unhealthy rivalry and underbidding soon ruin these industries. Hence even the Industrialists will have to think of new-avenues. There are many small scale industries, which, if started, will be of great use. We have forests in abundance all over our country. Yet cottage Industries of wood-distillation have not been started in various parts of India. There are, I am told, here and there one or two, but that is not sufficient. By burning the wood in a crude way we are all losing many bye-products which we can get from wood, the most important of which is the tar, from which many valuable chemicals are obtained. Though we have soap factories we are losing a lot of Glycerine, which is a bye product of that industry. Yet thousands of Rupees worth of Glycerine is being imported into India! Take for instance the leather Industry. Millions of cattle die and are slaughtered in our country and yet we are importing leather products from various foreign countries. Take again the industry of fisheries. With the longest coast

line, which any single country possesses in Asia, we are importing tinned fish from various other countries! As for agriculture the less said the better it is. In a country which is mainly depending on Agriculture, the attention paid to agriculture is scandalous. Instead of the Govt. being engrossed with the uplift and better methods of agriculture, without costly mechanisation, great officials of these Governments talk of beautifying the capitals of the cities! I lose my patience when the Dewans of Indian States proclaim that they have improved the capitals of their States and have beautified them, in appearance, as I know that the villagers in the States do not get even proper drinking water. So is the case in most matters.

Vast scope for employment.

Then again why should India import even a Rupee worth of paper, ink, pencils, nibs, shoes, boot-polish and umbrellas etc, when it has been demonstrated that all these can be manufactured without a heavy capital in our own country? These are admirable localised small scale industries, which, if only our rich people, forgetting for some time their inmate selfishness, start in a co-operative way, will go a great length to solve the unemployment problem of our country. As I said before India can be fed with grain grown in our own country and yet we import rice! Again, I am told that the Nilgiris potatoes are not able to compete with Italian potatoes at Bombay, as it takes fully double the time to export Potatoes from the Nilgiris to Bombay than it is

to bring them from Italy! Our Railways are mainly responsible for killing many an industry. They never give facilities to the people to export their goods at the quickest possible time from one place to another. All sorts of idiotic rules and regulations obstruct us even in our internal trade. For instance we get the finest apples in Kashmir and yet distant Africa and Australia are able to dump their apples at a cheaper rate in our land than our Kashmeries can do'

Civil Resistance ?

If the political and communal leaders instead of asking for political reforms and jobs under government will only concentrate all their attention on such matters as I have been mentioning just now, they will create a better India within a year than all the political agitation can ever do. Suppose Civil Resistance is thought of for stopping Italian potatoes and Australian and African apples, Rangoon paddy, Ceylon cocoanuts and foreign cloth being dumped on us and for quick transport of goods from one part of our Motherland to another part, don't you think that we will have the sympathy of the world in a better way than if we start Civil Resistance for political reforms? You see Friends, there are enormous scope for our young men, provided they are directed on proper paths. The elder generations are grown too much with the "job-mentality" and it is difficult to cure them. Hence it is that our leaders and governments should take steps to save our coming generation at least from such pitfalls. As already stated

the communal problem is at present only a question of "jobs" for the English educated persons and nothing else. Since only less than 2 per cent can get governmental jobs we have to turn to other walks of life. That is the best remedy. If we all take this attitude, at least the coming generations will be free from such bickerings as we are at present witnessing.

A Dangerous Economic Doctrine.

Further on account of an idiotic and dangerous economic doctrine taught to us by the Westerner, we are suffering a great deal. They have taught us that we should increase our wants. It is this wretched doctrine, which is responsible for the various wars in Europe. It is this insane theory that is responsible for the present brutal war. No nation seems to be satisfied with what it has. They *must* increase their wants and hence they arm themselves and then attack innocent neighbours and they call themselves civilized and call us uncivilized! A Japanese nobleman once said to an European :

"When we were painting beautiful pictures and
"were living a peaceful life you called us uncivilized.
"Immediately we learnt to kill human beings as
"effectively as you do, you called us civilized!"

How civilized these westerners are this war is beautifully demonstrating ! (laughter). I may remind you that about three decades ago Swami Vivekananda said that within fifty years the Western civilization would crumble to pieces. We see his prophecy being fulfilled to day. He said in clear language that the

“whole of Western World is on a Volcanoe which may burst tomorrow...The very foundations of Western Civilization have been shaken to their base”. That is, due to that wrong doctrine.

With this theory that civilization means increasing our wants, we are also ruining our country. Our philosophy taught us that to decrease our wants and to become detached from the world are the great qualities of a civilized being. Now that great doctrine is thrown to the winds. The rich man wants to get more money. The industrialists are worrying themselves how to increase their wealth more and more. The Lawyer wants more fees and hence he wants no legislation, which will bring amicable settlement of people's disputes to be passed. You see I do not spare even myself (laughter). If all people make it a point not to quarrel, not to create disputes the occupation of lawyers will be gone to a very great extent. The officers, who get thousand Rupees want more than 1000. The great officials who get 4000 Rs. want 5000 Rs. The man who wears a cotton cloth wants to buy silk cloths. The woman, who wears gold-jewels wants diamonds. Thus it goes on *ad infinitum* ruining our country. Nobody seems to be contented. The whole tragedy is that even those who have wealth in plenty are not at all satisfied with what they have. I can understand a poor man receiving one Rupee a day wanting to get Rs 2/- a day; the clerk getting 30 Rs. per month desiring to get 60 Rs. But high officials wanting to get more and more pay is abominable. The money which these persons

waste in luxuries will feed dozens of poor men. This vicious tendency of the Westerners to concentrate all large scale industries in the hands of a group of persons have already invaded our Bharathavarsha. We find certain groups of Industrialists and families of Industrialists, using all sorts of unscrupulous means to obtain control over every Industry, which they can enter into. This is not the place to describe their unfair, cool and calculated methods. Some of you may have read that book of Uptain Sinclair "Oil". I may say that there are groups of Industrialists in all the Provinces of India, who are in no way better than those Oil Magnates. They are worse than the American's as our men go about the country as patriots and say that they are working for their country or for their community. Hence they are wolves in sheep's clothings. (laughter)

I do not by any means want you to infer that people should be satisfied with very little and suffer. There is a sane standard, which every one will understand. Now, for instance, why should our rich-men go in for Rolce Royce cars when they can get comfortable cars at much lower prices. Cannot they control their minds and go in for cars which will not be so very costly? Yet these rich men will refuse to give a rupee increase of pay to their servants! The fun of this matter lies in the Indian States. The Rulers and their Dewans buy such costly cars, not out of their own moneys, but from the taxes of the people. I am afraid that unless this mentality is changed there will be a revolution in our country. The philosophy of the Bible

that to him that has more will be given and to him that has not, even that little will be taken away is being misapplied to materialistic possessions. Unless we find out remedies for the growing unemployment of our young-men, educated and uneducated, the Danger from inside our land will increase.

CHAPTER X.

OUR WOMANHOOD.

Purposeless Education.

Complicated and difficult is the problem of unemployment of our males as you are all aware. To this complication, the competition between males and females is being added. Further the western ideals, as I will show presently, have lowered our ideals of womanhood. There has been a great fallacy in the field of education. People say that persons should have "education for education sake" and should not aim at a certain definite thing. Our education is already godless and it has also become aimless. Such an education while it is dangerous to our males, is certainly *ruination* to our women. It is our women, who have been preserving without effacement many of the great ideals not only of Hindu womanhood but also of our Religion. I am afraid that if we do not wake up, within another generation all those ideals will vanish into thin air, just as the lives and thoughts of ancient Greece and Rome have vanished. Read the most ancient Hindu literature, 3000

years old, and compare the lives led by our women then and the present day lives of our women who have not been ruined by this western education, and then you will be struck with a remarkable similarity and continuity. The mothers, daughters, sisters, and wives have been living similar lives for ages. The axe is being applied to that ideal, that civilization and that chastity, which even Magesthenes, the Greek Ambassador noted as it was so very patent. Fathers, Brothers, Sons, Uncles, men of Hindusthan, wake up otherwise you are ruined. (Cheers).

Neglect of Morals.

The College and High School authorities do not take any step to put before these girls and boys better ideals. They leave them to their "good sense". Even the ordinary discipline of schools and colleges is thrown overboard by students with "strikes", based on trade unionism. How can these girls and boys have control over their minds, when no school or college teaches the students to practise such a control? If a student were to be asked to sit quiet for a few minutes he or she will find it an impossibility. Hence how can you except these boys and girls, in the prime of their lives, moving intimately in schools, dancing halls, meetings and darkened cinemes to control themselves? Did not a girl complain to Gandhiji that these young men sit behind them in cinemas and touch the girls who are sitting in front of them? This shameless "freedom" is ruining the morals of our school and college going students. This "new freedom and liberty" are merely cloaks for license.

Liberty?

The great historian Froude rightly said :—

“The rights of man are not to liberty but to wise direction and control. Individuals cannot be independent or society cannot exist. With individuals the contention is not for freedom absolutely but for an extension of the limits, within which their freedom must be restrained”.

I may say that I heard last year with horror that after medical examination, the Doctor found out that 60 per cent of the grown up girls, who were unmarried were not virgins in a certain city in a girl's educational institution! If this is the meaning of our education and liberty I say “No” a thousand times ‘No’ to this wretched English Education. On enquiry the authorities found out that a neighbouring trader of that institution was having a roaring trade in contraceptives! You see, where the present education is leading our girls.

Contraceptives?

A few years ago in a College Hostel for women, the Warden made a search and found out that a number of girls had with them contraceptives (cries of shame). In these days, if a warden were to do so she will be murdered by the students and there will be ‘leaders’, who will support the students for their boldness and independence. I am not here to justify contraceptives or to oppose them. But I request you to put yourselves the questions “why should unmarried girls — that too Hindu girls — possess contraceptives, while living in

their hostels? Were they keeping them as curios? Were they making practical or theoretical study of contraceptives? Then again why should married girls when their husbands are not with them possess contraceptives? I am aware I am putting the matter very frankly. I knew that I would have to speak so, and hence it is I requested my friend Mrwho is responsible for dragging me to this meeting, that he should not invite any member of the fair sex here. Not that I am afraid to face any of these butterflies, but I am afraid of myself losing my temper with such girls. Will a male Hindu like to marry a girl, who has been experimenting with contraceptives? How can such girls give birth to noble children as future citizens of India?

Double Standard of Morality.

There is one woman in India, who is considered to be the leader of our educated women. She has been often talking about "the double standard" of morality, which is said to be prevailing in India. If she had been using her eloquence to make the men to take to the standard, which is set before our women, I will be the last person to criticise her. But her idea is to drag the women also to the lower ideal, which men are alleged to have in the matter of sex. Her argument is this.

"The women are taught to consider themselves important only in relation to men and to fashion themselves on a pattern to serve and please the men alone with no individuality or mission of their

"own. Double standards of morality now come to
"be recognised ; a severe code for women as the
"preserver of the social morals of society and an
"easier standard for the men, whose fickleness and
"lapses are to be indulgently treated ..In ancient
"and modern civilization the history of morality has
"been the history of male supremacy. Women have
"been ruthlessly ground under the wheels of
"masculine "morality", which in other words
"means a stern standard for the women and a light
"one for men. A multitude of devices have been
"employed to frighten and terrify the women and a
"variety of deceptions practised to perpetuate their
submission".

Sitas and Savitries Dead ?

The same woman at another place stated that "we
sit and gloat over the past glories of dead and gone
Sitas and Savitries!" Friends, Sitas and Savitries
are dead! Their ideals should be thrown over board!
Let us thank God that we have millions of Hindu
women, who do not follow this woman and who have not
even heard her name. It is this woman, who talks that
the male Hindu is not giving freedom and liberty to the
female Hindu. The fact that we males, have
tolerated this woman's statements, clearly go to
prove that we are extremely patient and that we are
admirable persons, (laughter) who follow the teachings
of Manu, who said :

"Do not strike, even with a flower, a woman guilty
"of hundred faults".

It is of this woman another woman, writes that :

“She was the leader of the youth in them
“(women); her beauty, eloquence, brains, audacity
“and charm making her particularly popular”.

Cries of “Name, please.” Friends, I do not like to
give publicity to this woman. Hence excuse me.

Well! Friends! If the ideals of this woman,
as quoted by me are going to govern the hearts and
brains of our student girls then our doom is set and
the Gravest Danger to our *Hindutwa* has come. But
fortunately to the few hundreds of College girls, who
may be influenced by such teachings, there are millions
of women who will not be influenced by her. However,
I find that these ideals are permeating into the hearts of
a number of modern Hindu girls. Unless we curb this, I
feel sure that our race will become impure and the
future generations will lose the virtue for which the
Hindu woman has been famous throughout ancient and
modern world. Fathers, brothers and husbands must
think about this danger. They must take all steps to
save our women, the mothers of our nation from this
Hell. We should not show any mercy in doing so.
(Cheers.)

The Why of it.

Our women should remember that if a stricter,
higher and purer morality is expected of women, it is in
the interest of the society, the purity of the race and for
the continuity of noble family traits. Hence it is,
perhaps, this “double standard of morality”. In this
connection I should like to quote what H. E. Lady

Linlithgow said addressing a women's conference :

"I agree that the same moral standard should be aimed at for men as for women, but I think care should be taken not to make statements, which might antagonise the public as a whole and the men in particular. However much you wish to do so, you can never abolish prostitution, until there arises in this world a race of super-men and super-women."

This contains practical common sense. Please do not think that I am advocating one standard for men and another for women. What I emphasise is that just because men are alleged to follow a lower standard of morality, the women also should not follow that ideal. *In the fall of a man only one soul falls, but in the fall of a woman a whole family is corrupted.* That is the reason why a higher standard of morality is expected of our women. Our women should not fall victims to Valentine legends. It is absolutely foreign to our conception of womanhood. But European and American standards of womanhood are making inroads into our Hindu society of women. We must rise up against this and curb it, come what may. If by only suppressing western education, just as this war is destroying western civilization, this can be put a stop to, I for one will be prepared to sacrifice my life for it. (Cheers). If the ideals of a Sita and Savitri are thrown overboard then our civilization will fall down like a pack of cards.

Cinema Stars, our Ideals ?

To add to such "leaders" who are bringing down

our ancient ideals, our boys and girls are looking to cinema stars as their ideals. Many a student keeps photographs of cinema stars with them. They discuss all about the cinema stars, their lives, their acting and their features. Their dresses and their manners are the ideals of our students. The boys and girls fondly desire that they should get a husband or a wife as the case may be, as that of the cinema stars. Our papers fill their pages with photos of such cinema stars! Our boys and girls pour over those pages with avidity and they spend their money in attending cinema shows! You never come across these students having prominently the photos of their parents, as they do of the cinema stars. Lord Baden Powell, the Chief Scout of the world protested sometime ago against the "hysterical worship of cinema stars" by the students in England. That evil has invaded India and is ruining the students and along with them our *Hindutwa*. Most of the Cinema stars have either many divorces to their credit or a number of men or women with whose names they are coupled. Are we to allow such ideals to rule the minds of our students? It is incomprehensible to me why the student population should become hysterical hero-worshippers of Cinema stars. They are no doubt clever and admirable in their work. So is my motor driver, barber, butler and scavenger. I must confess that I cannot do the work, which is being done by these persons. I really admire them. But that does not mean that I should keep photographs of them and garland them. I am really unable to see how the Cinema stars are in any way bet

than these persons who do many other professional work. (cheers.) The cinema stars also do a profession for which they are paid. I learn that in Japan students are allowed only to certain suitable cinemas, which will increase their knowledge. But we take with us young girls and boys to the Cinemas and allow our children to learn all sorts of songs and ideas about sex before they are able to understand them.

Cinemas distort our stories.

I once attended the "marriage" of a Deity in a cinema. I am sorry to say that I came away from the hall, minus my respect for that Deity! Our religious stories are being pilloried by thoughtless cinema proprietors, directors and actors, who look to the low pleasures of the cinema goers. These men and women never think of the moral aspect behind these stories and in fact most of them are incapable of understanding the spirit of the stories. Then how can you expect them to put high ideals in their productions?

It is such cinema stars who are the heroes of our student population! This admiration for cinema stars is rooted in the principle of hero worship. I am afraid that this noble trait is being misunderstood and abused. A good speaker, a political leader, a good actor or actress, a man who has risen to high position, a woman with a pretty face or voice make our young men and women lose their own self respect and to bend before them, not only physically and what is worse, mentally. They attempt to get autographs from these persons forgetting

that we have been taught "*Aham Brahmasmi*". Our students must be made to feel that a similar soul, which makes them admire another, is dwelling in them and it is within themselves to become great. There are so many "heroes and heroines" in our vast land that our students will soon find that they have lost their individuality. Everything about them will be admiration for others but not self restraint and admiration for themselves. I feel sometimes that students should be prohibited from such hero worship of men and women who are still alive. You would have noted that from the last decade our students do not pass so brilliantly as their predecessors used to do. The cinema is the cause of it. If Cinema women are "ideal ladies" then women are not "ladies" (Cheers.)

Ruination of our Women.

If cinema-star worship is dangerous for our boys it is doubly so to our girls. Just as cinema-stars change their lovers in the various pictures and even in actual lives our English educated women and men also want to do so. That is why they talk of divorces. We have observed that a number of these English educated women actually steal the husbands of other women and marry them just because these "husbands" are in good positions. It has become such a scandal that even the women's association, I think, sometime ago protested against this. But such a protest was merely an eye-wash. If they were really earnest about it, they ought to boycott such women from society ; but such women are often given prominent positions. Let me not mention

names. I do not like to stand as an accused in defamation cases though I can successfully plead "Truth and justification." (laughter.)

Dishonest Attitude.

There is much dishonesty in our public life regarding this matter. Men, who sincerely hate the women who live such lives and who are against such kind of "freedom" being given to our women, do not state it publicly. They praise the so-called "advancement" of our women, while in their inmost hearts they hate it. Many of these persons praise other women and would like *other* women to behave in this way and NOT their own wives, daughters and sisters ! Once a young man was speaking eloquently in a literary society that members should bring their "wives and sisters" to the society and thus "liberate" our women. I immediately told him :

"Please set the example by bringing your wife
"to-morrow evening here" (laughter).

The young fellow flared up saying that I was personally attacking him ! I said that I had no intention of attacking him but that before he gave advice to others, he should act up to it in such matters, and that his anger only showed that he was either insincere or that he was a dishonest fellow. He immediately stopped his speech and went out of the meeting in great anger.

Then I related to the audience the story of the bullet—proof coat. A man went to the Colonel of an army with a coat, saying that the coat will resist any

kind of bullets. The old Colonel, who had seen many a battle, told him :

“Please wait here. I shall bring my rifle.

“Meanwhile please put on the coat”.

Saying so, the Colonel went into his room. The man, who brought the coat immediately ran away saying, “is the mad Colonel going to try it on me ? ” When the Colonel came back, the inventor was not to be found and when he was told how he ran way, the old shrewd Colonel said :

“So, the fellow thought that it was good for *my* soldiers and not for himself ” ! (Laughter).

Just as you laughed, the subordinates under the Colonel also laughed. The audience in that society also laughed and passed a resolution that such promiscuous mixing up of women and men, as in Western countries, is not suitable to our country, with our ideals of a Sita and a Savitri.

Attack on the Hindu Women of the Old Type.

Those who eloquently talk of the “advancement and liberation” of our women often say that the women of India are “500 years behind times” and that “they are a commodity”, to quote the words of the woman, whom I have already quoted. Yet another woman, who has married a high official, while that man’s lawful wife is alive and who had unfortunately married him when he did not become a high official, said that “Hindu women are frogs in a well”. Yes! They are frogs in a well, thinking always what is best for their husbands

and they are not women, who are out to steal other women's husbands! (laughter). Many others blindly repeat that our women are not "educated" and that they are a hindrance to the progress of the Nation. These people talk without knowing what they mean by it. Once you ask them "What is progress? What is education?" They begin to blink, and will side track the issues.

Some Doubts.

"Progressive" women of India understand English education as the only element which go to make women "educated". Hence she must be a B. A. or higher than that! Thus education means only the knowledge of English literature and ability to act like an English woman! Do our women realise that the English woman speaks *her* mother tongue, she wears *her* national dress and she acts according to the customs of *her* country and not according to those of India; but our men and women not only they imitate the foreigner in foreign lands but also in our country! It is a mistake to think that every English woman, who comes to India is educated in a University and that is why she is able to carry herself in masculine society so very freely. We have had a number of I. C. S. men and Governors in various provinces. I have been enquiring from various persons, who are primary witnesses, to use a legal phrase, and I have never heard of even a single I. C. S. officer or a Governor, who has committed the *indiscretion* of marrying a graduate girl. (laughter). I

mean the English I. C. S. and not the Indian I. C. S. Yet these women admirably carry themselves in a foreign country and are able to keep their husbands in order even though they had never entered into the portals of a university. Most of them are succeed in life not because they had become experts in a foreign language but because they had learnt what are called "accomplishments", which please the brute in their husbands.

Feed the Brute !

A story is told of an English mother's advice to her daughter. The newly married daughter, before going to her husband's residence, asked her mother "Mammie, what shall I do to keep George's affection to me intact ?" The experienced mother replied "Feed the brute well !" (Laughter). Even though it may appear a joke that lady had given a very good advice to her daughter. Suppose after a heavy work in office, professional places or after vainly wandering about in search of a job you return home. You do not find your wife there but she has gone to the Lady's club, or that she is having "tea" with some "reformed" ladies or that the food that has been cooked is full of tamarind, or salt or that she had forgotten to put the salt, do you think that you are pleased ? (Laughter). Our modern women will say : "Oh you want the women to be a domestic drudgery ? Has she not got a mind to develop ? Is she not to progress ?" If all these admirable things can only be done by not even providing a good meal with your hands for your

husband, I say "Modern Indian woman you are unfit to be a woman".

"Why should I work at the sweat of my brow and earn a livelihood, if you think that to do half the duties of a family is a drudgery? Cannot I say "why should I do this drudgery of working outside the home? These English educated Indian girls are unfit to take care of a house without servants. Is it possible for all of us to engage servants so that the "B. A. woman" may not go near the kitchen? After all, it requires some patience and ability to run a home, with or without servants. Our modern women, learning English, think themselves superior human beings and they are dreaming dreams of pleasurable lives, which they may have read in six penny English novels, which no decent English lady stoops to look at. Just as we have not learnt the good qualities of the Englishmen, our women also have failed to imitate the various admirable qualities of the English women.

The Best Profession for Women.

In Europe, mothers, grandmothers and aunts use all their wits and abilities to get their young women married comfortably and well. We even read about these in Novels. Thackeray in his novel, the Newcomes, has very humorously described this quality. The cleverest thing that the European girls can ever do, I am told, is to get married, which they often fail to do. That is why they have to run to other professions. I think that our ideal for our women is that they should be good mothers and to the best of our abilities we try to get them well

married. Whenever a girl is married every one wishes her good children. What more glorious act can a woman do than to bring forth a good, healthy and noble child ? A Rajput war song clearly brings out this Hindu ideal.

“Bring forth a hero, O mother

“Or one who shares his wealth with all ;

“If not, why lose in vain your grace ?

“Prefer to have no child at all”.

Hence without any fear of being ridiculed I say, that the best profession for our women is to get married and become successful mothers. (Cheers).

Noble Cultured Mothers.

But this does mean that our women should be ignorant and that they should not be educated. It all depends upon what we mean by education. I assert that our women have been in the past very cultured but may not have been educated in the modern sense by going to schools and colleges. In fact our present day education has no culture at all, but it is merely half-mis-education. The proof of the pudding is in the eating. We have had this English Education for our women for over 50 years and yet I have not yet read about any son or daughter of these “educated mothers”, who have made a mark on the face of India, like our great men. But on the other hand what was the education of the mothers of all our Acharyas, Alwars, Nayanars, Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa, Swami Dayananda Saraswathi, Swami Vivekananda, Swami Ramtirtha, Ramanamaharishi, Gandhiji, Rabindranath, Tilak, Bose, Ramanand, the Dewans of

various States, the High Court Judges, Executive Councillors and even the Presidents of various local bodies in India and of the various great artists and great musicians and of the merchant princes ?

Nay, read the lives of the mothers of any of the most successful men in any walk of life in our country for the last 50 years, you will find that all of them were innocent of the "education," which is being given to our women in these days in huge buildings. Were the mothers of all these men "500 years behind times, and were they frogs in a well?" These are impertinent remarks, which are only equalled by their impudence. How did the mothers of these greatmen in our country succeed in getting such noble children without even knowing how to write their names even in their own mother tongues ? It is because they were pious, God fearing and had all the qualities of a Hindu woman, with no other thought, except the well-being of their husbands and children. They had no love for dances, no fondness for divorces, no ideas of worshipping cinema stars. A pious mother's blessings would bring more glory to a son or daughter than all her learnings in a foreign language, civilization and manners. (cheers).

Attacks on modern Ideals of Education.

I am not the only person, who is up against the present day education for our girls. Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit says :

"The education which is being given to our girls
"is not helping them in the things that count, it is

“not of any use to them in the service of their
“country—it seems to be defeating the very ends it
“tries to achieve.”

Such is the verdict of a woman, who has raised herself to the highest political position to which a woman can aspire in India. When Mrs. Pandit, an ardent advocate of woman's forward movement, gives such an opinion, I think that it is the highest condemnation of the present day education of our women. Let me quote another, whose speeches always show that she has a level head who is not impetuous. I refer to Begum Mir Amiruddin, who said in a thought provoking address at Palamcottah last year.

“The modern Indian girl must never lose her
“sense of proportion and balance, she must never
“run the gamut of extremes and go to absurd lengths
“in the mimicry of men, always remembering that
“only when she maintains her equilibrium and
“leaves excesses that woman's cause gains strength,”

Such a warning need not have been given by a woman herself, if the modern girls had not already done everything the Begum wants them not to do. Let me quote another. Lord Erskine when he was Governor in reply to an address at Srirangam said :

“I can only hope that nothing will come about to
“affect the age old ideal of Indian womanhood for
“which I hold the deepest respect and which I hope
“will prove capable of development to suit modern
“conditions without betrayal of its most sacred and
“central principles”.

Why should a Governor, a foreigner, say such a thing ? It is because he found that the education, which is being given to our women is turning them into wrong directions. Even a non-Hindu feels sorrow at the growing fall from the "*age old ideal of Indian womanhood*" and hence how much more you and I, who are Hindus by birth, must feel against such a fall ! Who allows the women to go into such wrong paths ? It is we males. But for the indifference and support of men such things cannot occur. It is due to our foolish weakness that degradation is coming over our girls.

The Education Leads to Wrong ways.

Just as at first the males were carried off their feet by coming into contact with English education the women also are going in the same way. As I have already said the danger is more when it affects our women. I feel sure that a serious and damaging wrong has been done to the ideals of womanhood by having the same education for our women as for our males. Our leaders with a view to please the fair sex, especially the more immodest amongst them, have been allowing such an education to progress on and on. Our women receiving the same kind of education obtain the same mentality of job hunting. It is incomprehensible to me why a girl graduate should think herself a superior person. The male graduate is only too often satisfied with a job on Rs. 30 or 35, which he often fails to get. In what way the woman should think herself to be in a higher position than her brother miserable graduate,

I cannot understand. The graduate-wife with her new fangled notion of liberty and fashion, with transparent sarees, high heeled shoes, powder puffs, lip sticks, manicure set and motor cars to drive about are setting a bad example to our modest sisters. How can a husband maintain such costly white elephants? (laughter).

I may refer without mentioning names an incident which came to my notice. A friend of mine got his first daughter, who had studied upto the 3rd form, married well to a decent young man with some property and a good education. His other daughter was admitted in a college and she became an M. A. But my friend was a believer in the sane theory that the woman's best profession is marriage and hence he wanted to get her also married. It was a herculean job for him as he found it an impossibility to get a suitable husband. It took him nearly two years to pitch upon a bridegroom and even that bridegroom was not quite satisfactory according to her standard! The main difficulty was that every prospective bridegroom hinted that to keep a white elephant like an idle M. A. is not an easy task and that he wanted the would be father-in-law to indemnify him before he took to the task of becoming a husband to that girl. (laughter.) I am not giving you a story but it is an actual fact. Let me mention another incident.

The other day I was walking along the road in the evening. A car was standing in front of a residence. A Hindu woman expensively dressed was saying to a child in the car "tatta, tatta". To add to this I noticed a.

smoking cigarette between her fingers. This woman would not utter her own sweet mother tongue even to a child ! The smoking cigarette upset me so much that but for my upbringing and the knowledge of law I have had, I would have given the woman a black eye with as much force as possible. (Laughter). Another instance comes to my minds.

I remember to have read about a Puritan society in Greece about three decades ago. The members of the society went about the town pouring acid on the bare arms of grown up girls, who were sleeveless. Young as I was, I must confess my sympathies were with those men and not with the girls who were suffering from the acid thrown at them (laughter) No other order of H. H. the Pope pleased me better than the order that he would not give audience to women, who come over there without fully covering themselves. But the fashion even in our country is in the words of Gandhiji that "the modern girl dresses not to protect herself from wind, rain and sun but to attract attention. She improves upon nature by painting herself and looking extraordinary." If Gandhiji was forced to say so you can imagine how low the girls have fallen ! I may add that in a certain city I found it difficult to distinguish between the dancing girls by profession, and the girls who were said to be family girls, as both were alike dressed, with the same immodest manners and looks !

Rivalry between the sexes.

All these are in no way an advancement to the

ideals of womanhood. But I am looking from another aspect. The women receiving the same education become rivals to the men in their professions. If women are also qualified to be typists, clerks and enter into various small professions, which men are occupying, then the already complicated problem of unemployment of educated men will become worse. In Europe and America often and often it is found that the men, who have young women as secretaries end in making some immoral alliance with those girls. The same will be the case in India. Happy homes will be wrecked by our women getting into competition with men in such jobs. There can be no objection to have women teachers, women nurses, women doctors. In fact they are a necessity but the scope even in these avocations is not large. But the scope in the other avocations are much more and hence the entry of women into such professions will only create a lot of misery and a lowering of morality in our country. Of course if we are to throw overboard the ideals of our ancient womanhood then you can do anything, but as long as we stick to them we must see that such ideals are not put in jeopardy by our present day education. Already the poison has begun to work in our land.

In this connection let me quote a Dewan of Travancore, the late Mr. Watts. He had once to receive a deputation from the numberless women graduates in that little State. These women waxed eloquent and wanted that they should also be treated with equality and that jobs should be divided amongst

them also with the males I do not know what all the Dewan told them but one pregnant observation, which the Dewan made has embedded itself into my mind. He said to the charming women who had come over there with their miserable unemployment problem that they should look to the military profession for jobs! (laughter) I think the Dewan was quite right in saying so. The women must keep to their sphere of influence and should not interfere in the sphere of men. If they do so why not they enter the military also?

CHAPTER VI

Equality of the Sexes?

This whole confusion about the growing rivalry between the sexes is entirely due to a wrong conception about the phrase 'equality of sex'. Instead of plainly telling women that God never meant them to be 'equals' of men in the accepted sense of the word "equal", men in public society, with a surprising cowardliness and insincerity, have been expressing views supporting this meaningless phrase of 'equality'. This has made the vociferous and "advanced" women, who have no cares of families and if they had, they had allowed others to look after those 'responsibilities', speak and claim equality in every sphere of man. The Honble Mr V S Srinivasa Sastry has expressed this view in his usual clear way and hence let me quote him. A few years ago presiding over a women's meeting he said

'The best system of education for our women

“is that followed by our men and the object of
“women’s education is just the same as the object of
“education of men.....In matters of education
“man should not be isolated from woman”.

Mr. Sastry was merely expressing the prevalent view which has been followed by our Reformers and the authorities, who have the controlling power in education. It is this wrong view, which has been the cause for the degradation of the “modern girl, the City girl”. These words have already become phrases conveying meanings, which are not at all complementary to the fair sex!

Sexes are different.

God has made man and woman different, which is so ocular that I am unable to understand why senseless men have been fooling the women by saying that they are equals of men. It is so patent that it requires no argumeat to prove it. This equality in modern times is meant that what all man does, the woman also should be allowed to do. If he smokes, drinks, lives a debaucherous life, goes about hunting after women, dresses in a peculiar way, addresses meetings, does not show any shyness, the woman also should be allowed to do all these things. Suppose for instance women begin to do all these things then a time will come when there will be no attraction towards women, as it prevails in every society, in the hearts of men. Take for instance that after you come home, your wife begins to discuss with you the communal problems, divorces, double standard of morality, equality

of sexes, jobs between men and women, why women should not be allowed to move amongst all sorts of men as men are moving amongst themselves, (laughter), I think life will become unbearable.

Sweet Home !

After hearing and learning about all these quarrels amongst men outside your homes, you want a pleasant and soft voice with a smiling face to welcome you and sooth your nerves. Instead of that, if you are also to carry on the same life of bickerings and unpleasantness, which we find in office, in every walk of life outside your home on account of so many political, religious and social forces then man will soon become mad. You come to sweet home to forget the miseries, which surround the world outside your four walls and if that misery and controversies were to penetrate the walls also, do you think that there will be happiness at home? I am talking about the majority of cases and not about some special and peculiar families who may be exceptions. There are many domestic problems which we can discuss with our wives, but for God's sake do not bring the outside problems which are being talked about in conferences and women's organisations into your home. Leave these talks to those women in our land, who have no domestic responsibilities ! (cheers)

Wrong Idea of Equality.

As I said there has been a misapplication of equality with reference to the relations of men and

women. Our mothers, sisters, wives and daughters are all women. Surely it will be outrageous to treat all of them alike. We give each a different treatment ; so also men and women though are human beings and yet they will have to be treated on different footings. Let me quote Sir Frederick Treves, that famous Surgeon of King Edward the seventh who once wrote some pregnant thoughts on this subject :— He said :

“In the mental qualities the two sexes are “undoubtedly dissimilars : but dissimilars are not “necessarily unequals. Equality does not demand “*identity* but it is compatible with and even depends “upon, a system of differentiation under which “either sex seeks to multiply at a rich interest its “own peculiar talents...To use the terms superior “and inferior in this comparison is mere *blundering*. “There is no common standard by which they can “fairly be judged. Estimated by the unit of the “female intellect, the man is deficient, while viewed “from the standard of man the female is lacking... “By this co-education of the sexes—boys and girls “learning the same thing in the same or similar “classes—the boys have gained nothing and the “individuality of womanhood was sacrificed and “the old and delicate graces were lost. The males’ “standard is as much to the detriment of the girl “as the adoption of the girl’s standard would be to “the boy...Women in the garb of men, with “cropped hair and hobnailed boots, smoking cigars, “riding astride, and rolling in the mud of the

“football ground represent no *advance*, but rather a
“deplorable loss of position. What would be the
“standing of men who dressed their hairs in curls,
“who wore corsets and veils, (laughter) who were
“decked with furbelows or who rode side-saddle and
“could interest themselves in trimming hats and
“discussing chiffons ? ” (renewed laughter),

Hear again, what the learned man says :—

“Woman’s immense influence in this world, her
“dignity, her very strength depends largely upon her
“feminineness. Both the effeminate man and the
“mannish woman are, so far as their ascendancy is
“concerned, practically sexless” (cheers).

A voice : This opinion should be sent to all the
Women’s Associations in our country. (Laughter).

Distortion of Sex.

Hear again another thoughtful Westerner, who has
studied this subject well, Mr. Otto Rothfeld, a retired
I. C. S. officer says in his book “Women of India” :—
“Europe has not yet devised any suitable system of higher
“education for girls, has rather indeed busied itself with
“what is unsuitable and injurious. Girls have been
“encouraged to emulate boys and in every sort of
“education within the same curriculum without heed of
“their earlier precocity, different methods of nervous
“activity and smaller nerve forces to the detriment of
“health...and to their unfitting to their own purposes and
“functions and Indian parents would not let their girls

“run the risk of an education, *which distorts rather than develops their sex.*”

These words were uttered more than twenty years ago. But now to say that Indian parents do not allow their girls “to distort their sex” is not correct. We have already allowed that ruination to come into our city girls in *every* Province.

The fact that even Mahatmaji was forced to say that :

“The modern girl plays Juliet to half a dozen “Rorcos”.

shows clearly how deep this great vice has gone into the lives of our youngmen and women in every province. Such criticisms are passed against our women, who have the ideals of a Sita, Savitri and a Padmini to follow! What a fall and what a degradation to our society! It is due to this wretched education, which our girls are receiving imitating our boys.

Suitable Education.

Sister Nivedita said that:

“There can never be any sound education of”
“Indian women, which dose not begin and end in”
“exaltation of the national ideals of our womanhood”.

But, can any one honestly say that the present day education of our women fits them to our national ideals? Can you tell me how many of the graduates have studied the Ramayana, the Mahabaratha and the Bhagavatham from cover to cover? The^d answer is “None”. How

many of these graduates know to speak and write well in their own languages? Are there not treasures of literature in every one of our languages in India? Just as the male graduate is not proficient in his own mother tongue and its literature, the woman graduate also is in the same position. Then how can the hand that rocks the cradle rule the world? I mean the world of Hindu India? I am afraid that a time will soon come when a question is put "who is Sita"? the girls will answer, "Oh, she is a great actress and I saw her only yesterday evening in the movie pictures" (laughter) It is not a matter of laughter, friends. This ruination of Hindu culture is coming on and on like the German tanks. We will be crushed without any hope of revival, if we do not with Hitlerian methods put a stop to this danger. Whatever the wrongs Hitler and Mussolini have done to the world, I feel that they have understood the sphere of women and have made the women to be mothers of patriotic sons. Once Hitler said "I am working to obtain a husband—a pure able German Husband—for every German woman". That should be our ideal as far as women are concerned.

A Special Curriculum.

Please do not think that I am against English education for our women. I am only against this insane duplication of our graduates even from our fair sex. You would have realised from our own experience that to give the same sort of education to our girls is ruination to us. We find that these English educated

girls are always self centred and more selfish than the ordinary women. They cannot live for a few days in a joint Hindu family without bringing disruption to the household. Is that an admirable quality to be respected? Does it show culture? Not at all. There is generally no difference in the curriculam between the boy graduate and the girl graduate. Where is it going to end? I would suggest that our women should get a working knowledge of English and Sanskrit, a thorough grounding in their mother tongue, being capable of understanding the ancient classics, and a working knowledge of Hindi, as the National language of Bharatha Matha. They should have a thorough knowledge of the ancient history and geography of India with special reference to our sacred places. Every one of the girls, who studies in schools should learn music, painting, sewing, embroidery, cooking, making various sweets, jams, jellies, and a thorough knowledge of dietetics so that they may combine all the necessary vitamins from the various vegetables and other foods, and nursing of babies and the sick and taking care of cows, flower and vegetable gardens and bees. I have known many an European lady watering her flower garden carrying water in the watercan with their own hands and forking the flower beds with a hand-fork. But I am yet to come across our graduate girls doing such work. They should further learn first aid and an elementary knowledge of simple remedies for ordinary ailments. They should be taught the art of self defence and not tennis and dancing in ball rooms! They should be thoroughly

conversant with keeping accounts. You all know that in financial matters there is no secret between our wives and ourselves.

A voice: Is it autobiographical? (Laughter). It may be so, but I am only revealing what you told me the other day about your difficulty as the keys of your safe are always in the hands of your wife (loud laughter).

You ask, western women about the financial status of their husbands, and you will find that they are as much strangers to that aspect as they are of that of you and me. Is that the case in our household? Certainly not.

No Liberty for our Women?

Can this state of affairs be said to be not giving liberty to our women? When the platform speakers say that we do not give "liberty" to our women, they only mean that we do not allow our women to shake hands with every well dressed scoundrel, who meets them, that we do not allow them to go to senseless public meetings and clubs, to dancing halls and roam about in any society they like. They say that our women are not allowed freedom to divorce their husbands like American and European women. These "advanced" women forget that divorces are increasing in European and American countries in such numbers that the courts are not able to cope with them. Does it show happiness of married life there? Further, there the unmarried mothers are increasing in thousands every year. Abandoned babies are of daily occurrence in Western

countries. Do we want to introduce such a state of affairs in our sacred land? I say a thousand times, No! As Brother Guiles once said :

“There is no other virtue, which can ever be
“perfect without chastity”.

This free and unrestrained intermingling, which our modern women advocate, imitating the Western society, not realising the climatic, social and domestic conditions of our land, is not at all suitable to us. I do not mean that our women should be imprisoned under *Purdah*. We have had a standard of gentle aloofness, which we must always maintain. Of course there is an exaggerated shyness prevalent in our society, which we should slowly get rid off but should not go to the other extreme.

Cinema freedom ?

You will all agree that in the Society of cinema stars there is and cannot but be a promiscuous mingling of men and women. As many of our young men and women take their clue in manners from Cinema actors and actresses regarding the so called “freedom” which they desire, let me quote Mr. N. S. Ayer. He has been long in the films and knows not only the society of one Province but a number of other Provinces. He wrote in 1937 in an article, on South Indian Talkies, that :

“Morality is a quality that must have a sacred
“responsibility in man and woman. However
“catholic a man and woman may be, the free mingling of both in a set inside the studio, the physical

' contact with each other for many times and the
' constant association with men of various mentalities
"will not go in vain it will and is sure to have the
"desired effect There are already enough girls for
"the directors and the producers to produce as
"many films as they desire let them not cast their
"enticing net on the society women, who are still
"on the border line preserving their chastity '

Such is the verdict of an experienced gentleman who must have had first hand and direct information about this free mingling of women and men which our "advanced women advocate in the name of raising our women from being frogs in the well ' They talk of opening careers for our women in the cinemas and thus solve the unemployment problem to some extent. The best test of the sincerity of those, who talk of cinemas as suitable occupation for our girls, is to ask them to allow their wives, daughters and sisters first to enter the studios of cinemas, let them see the effect ' I say to such women and men

"Please do not in the name of foolish idea of
"liberty ' of our women cast your enticing net to
"catch our innocent women. Do not behave like
"the fox, which has lost its tail " (laughter)

Are our women slaves to us?

Is it true to state, that understanding "liberty ' not as licence and understanding it in a practical way, that our women are "nothing but a mere commodity, first possessed by her father and then by her husband and her

family"? to quote the woman whom I have already quoted. If women are expected to be under protection of some male or other, it is more due to their greatness than anything else. Only our precious jewels are kept with care and not other ornaments. But is that care bestowed by men on women in any way derogatory to the women? If that is so, we males also are always dependent on some woman or other. When we were babies and boys our mothers were taking care of us. Our wives look after us in various ways, when we are grown up. Is there one man in the whole of India, who is not under the thumb of some woman or other? It may be a mother, a wife, a sister, a mother-in-law, a sister-in-law, an aunt or sometimes, an unmarried "wife" of a man (laughter). If you carefully scrutinise the life of Hindu males, you will find that they do many an act to please women, which they would never do to please their own male relations.

It is absolutely false to state that the average Hindu woman has less liberty than the average English-woman. The latter's undoubted freedom in the outside world has its parallel in the status of the Hindu woman in the household.

"Though women in the East are nominally in "subjection they possess far greater influence and "importance in family life than Western women. "The exclusion from public life...gives the women "all the more power and importance in the "household".

says the great Tolstoy. Every Hindu male knows

this to be true either to his delight or difficulty

Our Social Customs.

It is said that women who have lost their husbands are condemned to a difficult life. This only occurs in certain sections of our society and not in every section. I am not here speaking of those unfortunate child widows, whose existence is against our Sastras. Fortunately such a state of affair is fast disappearing. It cannot be said that invariably our widows are ill treated. No doubt there are cases of ill-treatment of widows as there are ill treatment of wives and *husbands* in various families. But this should not make us hysterical. These Reformers and 'advanced women' with a glib tongue talk, as if every next woman whom they meet on the road is either a child wife or a widow. According to the last census there are 86 017,155 Hindu females in our sacred land. How many of these are child wives and widows? No one takes the trouble of looking into such aspects. In European countries there are ten times more 'single women' than there are widows in our country. No one there goes about the country shedding crocodile tears that these women are in misery. The life of the single women of Europe has a similitude to the life of our widows. I cannot see why if the existence of single women is not a sin that the existence of our widows is a great sin and disgrace (Cheers)

We are crying hoarse that the population is increasing and that we should find out various methods of stopping this growth and that clinics should be established to teach contraceptives ! But, when a Hindu social

system prevents certain percentage of women from becoming mothers it is a great sin ! Society cannot be a perfect one anywhere in this world. We must only choose the lesser of the evils. (Cheers).

If we only follow the teachings of our Sastras no widow will be ill-treated. What we want is that we should go back to the ideas contained in our Sastras regarding women. There lies the salvation and remedies, for this. You find that the Catholic Religion has got an army of religious "mothers and sisters", who are unmarried and who live a stern life doing work for the humanity at large. Why should we not organise our widows also in the same way instead of asking them to get married ? If such an organisation with suitable conditions and rules is created much uplift work among our women can be carried out.

Social Ostracism.

Our society is deteriorating in various ways. Formerly if a widow or wife is ill treated or if a man or woman lives an immoral life the whole village will begin to talk about it and the perpetrators are made to behave better by the sheer force of social talk and ostracism. But that is all gone. People with impunity do such acts defying social customs and caste Panchayats, which used to keep a hold over their men and women. Such a hold is not yet entirely lost amongst certain sections.

Even in middle classes such a hold is not altogether effaced in the villages. I know of an incident. A

certain Brahmin in a high position drawing a big salary had discarded his wife after bringing all sorts of false allegations against her and had succeeded in ruining that poor woman, while he has been living with a close female relative of his in an immoral way. This man had the audacity on account of his English education and the wealth at his back, to attend a marriage in a village with that woman. At the time when he entered the house about 100 Brahmins were taking their food. As soon as they saw this man and the woman entering the hall, all the Brahmins got up as if by an electric shock and refused to take food unless these two persons were sent out and a purification ceremony was done and the meals were again served. I may say that the Brahmins gained their end and the man and woman were asked to go out of the place. The marriage party was put to some expenditure in doing some ceremony to get rid of this 'pollution'. (Cheers) I only want you to think of the *spirit* behind the action of the Brahmins, who acted in that way. No doubt the Brahmins in these days have fallen from their status. They do not do their duties and yet they want the privileges which are given to them on account of those duties. But this incident shows that when they are roused they will come to their own leaving aside their present biasings and selfishness. Such kind of social rules should be enforced and then we will never hear of any ill treatment of widows or other women. After all, these are only occurrences in small numbers. In a country of about 100 millions one need not become hysterical over some

social evils, and proclaim that we should take to western social ideas, customs and manners.

The Status of our women according to our Sastras.

A false notion has been spread by some ignorant persons and by hostile missionaries that our Sastras treat our women as "chattels". Is this true? I assert it is a base falsehood (cheers). Let me quote a French writer—I am sorry that my education is such that I have to learn about our Sastras from the writings of foreigners.—Clariss Bader, who has written on the Ancient women of India she writes:—

"Married women, says Manu, must be honoured
 "with attention and by presents from their fathers
 "their brothers, their husbands, and from the
 "brethren of their husbands, when these desire
 "abundant prosperity. *Wherever females are honour-*
"ed, there the Divinities are pleased: but when they
"are not honoured, all religious acts are fruitless.
 "Houses cursed by women of the family to whom
 "homage has not been given *as their due, perish*
"entirely, as if they had been annihilated by a magic
 "sacrifice. In every family, where the husband is
 "contented with his wife and the wife with her
 "husband, happiness is assured for ever. The
 "husband, inconsiderate in his actions, fallen or
 "vicious, is saved by his wife, who saves herself
 "at the same time (Harivamsa). Let a man and
 "woman united by marriage constantly beware, lest
 "at any time disunited, they violate their mutual

“fidelity. Do not strike even with a flower a wife
“guilty of a hundred faults” (Manu).

I am afraid we may have to change this law..
Sometimes I feel that the law given by the Prophet
Mahomed is better than the law of Manu in these days.
The Holy Quran says in part 5, chapter 4, section 6,
stanza 34 regarding women :

“As to those on whose part you fear desertion,
“admonish them, and leave them alone in the
“sleeping places, and beat them.” (laughter)

I have quoted from page 86 of the Translation of
the Holy Quran by Maulana Mahammad Ali, 1928.
edition.

Let me go back to quoting Claris Bader :

“Those women, “says Manu, “who join with their
“husbands in the desire to have children, who are
“perfectly happy, worthy of respect and an honour
“to their homes, are truly goddessess of fortune :
“there is no difference...yes, the world is preserved
“by these women, modest in their language, pure in
“their habits, firm in virtue, constant in their piety
“and always wise in their discourses.”

Let me quote a remarkable passage from the
Mahabaratha. There is it said :

“Respect, kind treatment, and every thing that is
“agreeable, should all be given to the maiden whose
“hand is taken in marriage. Her sire and brothers
“and father-in-law and husband's brothers should
“show her every respect, and adorn her with

“ornaments, if they be desirous of reaping benefits
“for such conduct on their part always leads to
“considerable happiness and advantage. Women,
“O King, should always be worshipped and treated
“with affection. There where women are treated
“with respect, the very Deities are said to be filled
“with joy. There where women are not worshipped
“all acts become fruitless ..Women deserve to be
“honoured. Do ye men show them honour! The
righteousness, of men depends upon women. All
“pleasures and enjoyments also completely depend
“upon them. Do ye serve and worship them! Do
“ye bend your wills before them! The begetting of
“offspring, the nursing of children already born,
“and the accomplishment of all acts necessary for
“the needs of society, behold all these have women
“for their cause. By honouring women ye are
“sure to attain to the fruition of all objects!”

Certain little points.

Can any one say that these ideals make the Hindu woman a chattel? If any one says so, I think we must send him or her to an expert of brain diseases! We must take every effort to realise this ideal, instead of the ideal of Western civilization, with freedom to move in all sorts of male society. No doubt on account of thoughtless indifference the men fail to help the women in their domestic duties. We fail often to realise their difficulties, when they have no servants and even when

they have. We do not see whether they have proper materials for doing their "domestic drudgery." Can a man or woman live without this domestic drudgery? I know certain graduate girl-wives have solved their problems by arranging to get meals from hotels for themselves and for their husbands! Can there be any pleasure in such conduct? This is not only due to their education but also for want of proper conveniences at home for this work. Invariably I have noticed that our kitchens are not of the right sort. Often smoke never leaves that room and our women folk have to suffer. Those of the Government and Railway Servants, who have come here know that the Engineering officers in these two departments are so hopelessly incompetent that the kitchens built by them never throw out the smoke but always sends it into all other rooms! The same is the case in most of our houses of the middle classes.

There are various little nameless acts of thoughtfulness which will relieve our women from their "drudgery", which most of them do with great pleasure and patience. We must find out various methods of labour-saving appliances to relieve them of unnecessary work. There are men, strong, well built men, who will not even wash their own clothings, but will throw them in the bathing rooms so that the women may pick them up and wash them. If I had the power I would get these men horse whipped (laughter). Further, often and often we find that men inflict a number of children on their wives. Before one child is able to walk and take

care of itself, even for its own small needs just as taking food, answering calls of nature and walking about the place, another child is born to the wife. Here also we do not follow our Sastras. Such conduct and such a number of children are against our sacred sastras. Whether by using only contraceptives such frequent conceptions can be prevented or otherwise, I am not going to talk here. I only refer to this to show that we are thoughtless in such matters and inflict avoidable difficulties on our women. If the "advanced" women will only come forward with sane suggestions to relieve our women from difficult domestic work, to find leisure and rest for them, and for various little nameless attractions within the means allowed to the males and within the social restrictions to which we are accustomed, I for one, will be the first to support them. Only when they begin to talk thoughtlessly of our women as "chattels, frogs in wells, five hundred years behind times that they should be allowed to demand divorces, and a lower standard of morality" etc. my mind revolts against them.

I realise that I have been rather frank, very frank and a little bit harsh on the modern woman, the city girl and the graduate girl. The reason is because I realise that the Gravest Danger is coming over Hinduism on account of these false ideas of advancement of women. If our ancient ideals are destroyed what more Danger can you think of? The Muslim women on account of their strict notion of women's seclusion, the Indian Christian women on account of the restrictions given in their Churches and congregations are not getting out of

the beaten path as often as our advanced Hindu women. These latter are rapidly losing the society and home influences and there is absolutely no restriction either of religion or social customs on them and hence the danger is greater. Every Muslim and Christian educated woman would have completely read the Quran and the Bible respectively. But can we say that all our Hindu educated women have read the Gita? Not at all. We must take steps to remedy these evils connected with the education of our women. This is more urgent and important than the evils, which are existent in the education of males.

CHAPTER VII

Organisations

Friends, I am coming to the close of this inordinately long talk. Your immense enthusiasm and the humorous spirit with which you have been hearing me have sustained me for so many hours. My friend Mr. would have realised by this time the reasons why I declined to deliver this talk in a public meeting. Would an audience composed of all sorts of persons have waited so many hours and heard all the de-sultary talks on varied matters, which I have been unburdening myself before you? Certainly not. The smallness of the numbers has been a great advantage to me and I have expressed many points which I had never thought of expressing to you. They are not to be found in my draft notes and extracts, which I have brought with me. I have been

talking as if impelled by some force behind me. I always feel in spite of all our difficulties that Sri Krishna with His bewitching smile, is guiding every one of us. We must try to deserve His smile falling on us. Our Lord expects every one of us to do his individual and collective Duties. How shall we carry it out? That is the important question.

There has been a great mistaken impression in our country that only those, who are in political field, are working for the uplift of our country. It is this mentality, which has brought about a great deal of controversies and bickerings in our land. There are too many organisations for political work in our country doing too little work. Every one, who makes noise is able to create an organisation and become a leader!

I think it is within your experience as well as that of mine that most of the local leaders of these organisations, in contrast to the topmost persons, are men and women who, taking shelter under big names, act contrary to the ideals of such greatmen. As the Congress stands foremost, with the largest number of members, naturally, you find more of this kind of people in it than in other organisations. This does not mean that other organisations are purer than the Congress. Not at all. Some of them are much worse than the Congress with absolutely no "ideals" whatsoever. But the Congress has put before itself a great ideal and its leader, Gandhiji, is an embodiment of purity. Hence, it is an irony of fate that such a great personality should have been the indirect cause for the creation of so many "double faced" personalities

I am not a Congress man and yet the police have always had me in their "black book", just because I have been a wearer of khadder consistently for over fifteen or twenty years. They think that I am at the bottom of the organisation of the Congress in our locality, even though I have long since ceased to be even a four anna member of the Congress. But I have been watching the organisation not only in our locality but also in other places, where I have had opportunities of studying the workers. I have discussed with scores of persons from other localities regarding the character and conduct of the Congress workers. I have invariably found that beyond an honourable minority, the rest are hated by men of status, men of education and by men, who are sincere lovers of their countries, though on account of various circumstances they have neither been able to come to the platform nor enter into the jails of our country. Though I do not depreciate this jail going method, we should not think that it is the sole method of serving the country. We find that a number of the local leaders in various places are men and women, whom the rest of the intelligent public cannot respect sincerely, as their positions in life are not of the sort, which command respect.

I do not mean to say that these local leaders should be educated in universities and that they should be wealthy. But what I mean is this. As Gandhiji has put forward very high ideals of purity and truth and as these persons always take his name—just like the European Christians when they bomb innocent citizens.

take the name of Jesus Christ—and when they fall far short of the ideal they become unpopular. At least there must be some dignity, sincerity and straight forward behaviour without hautiness, bordering on impertinent arrogance, basing every act of theirs on the necessity of such sacrificing souls ! It is a mistake to think that every person, who has a glib tongue and who is prepared to get on the platform and give vent to his thoughts and who is prepared to go to jail, is a “patriot” and “a leader”. For local politics persons of stern character are a great necessity, as people will be meeting such “leaders” every moment of their lives, unlike those big leaders, whom we only see in papers and about whom we have only a glamour. Distance has a charm.

You will find that all these are the evils of most organisations, which are out to get power, and prestige. Let us not commit that mistake of starting organisations, which will forget the main purpose. The difficulty is when persons join an organisation, generally they join it with the inward idea “how shall I make it to serve my glory, my ambition, my pride and my self ?” Instead of this if we can create a spirit which will say “what work shall I do for this organisation” then that organisation will not be an evil. I may say that individuals can do plenty of work without any organisation whatsoever. To be a little bit egoistic may I say that I have within the last fifteen years prevented two dozen persons from leaving Hinduism ? I have got rid of the prejudice against Harijans from about 20 families of the middle classes.

-and I have been responsible to some extent to create the spirit of Hindu solidarity amongst a number of others. I have never climbed a public platform to speak about these things. Many of us can do such work, and wait for reward not from the public, but from Sri Krishna, the all-knowing, who watches us every minute of our lives. Yet I realise that some sort of organisation should be amongst us, which will at least make a few of us meet once in a week in a quiet place, without having the vanity of getting our proceedings made public. Our country can only be resuscitated by the Religious attitude. What I mean is this. Our genius is such that unless you connect your uplift and unification work with the philosophy of our country, you cannot make headway. In spite of various attacks from every sort of person and organisation, Gandhiji still soars high above every other. I think you will agree with me when I say that he is the greatest man of our country and yet he is the most criticised man! It may look strange but yet it is a fact. How did he gain this position? It is merely because he is absolutely and supremely religious; he is a political Brahma Rishi and is the one man, who can be said to be working for the country absolutely with no selfish thought, even at the bottom of his heart. The natural selfishness that he should get a name and a fame is also absent from him.

But this, please do not think that I am asking you to follow him in every one of his teachings. It is an impossibility. I may say that I hate his weak policy towards the Muslim League. I have often abused him

amongst friends even while wearing his emblem of Khadi ! But here I only want to draw your attention to the *spirit* behind him, which is responsible for his greatness. We must learn that lesson.

I feel in my own humble way, an obscure worker, for our Motherland. Just as the squirrel with its tiny mouth carried a bit of earth to help Sri Rama, while He was building a bridge to cross over to Lanka, I have expressed my thoughts to you all. If there is anything worth consideration in this talk, I request you to do your best to carry it out, at least in your own lives. You need not go about preaching to others, if you have not the means and the leisure necessary for doing so.

Baratha Matha Bajana Mandir.

However I suggest to you that small Bajana Mandirs should be arranged without any flourish of trumpet and publicity in every part of our land. There we must have the picture of our Baratha Matha as I stated before. We should meet once in a week and spend sometime in praise of the Divine Mother. We should not make any distinction between one Hindu and another in that Bajana Hall at least. Every one should be asked to come there, after having taken a bath and in clean *white* clothings, and should wear his Hindu mark. He should try to learn one or two verses at least, which he can repeat in praise of our Divine Mother in any language he likes. Every one of the members of the Bajana Mandir should be taught to repeat the Gayatri-

manthram. The proud twice born—Brahmins, Kshatrias and Vaisyas—who think that they only can repeat this prayer have failed in their duty. This is one of the reasons why they have fallen from their status and have brought our country under subjection. About a quarter century ago I was in a hostel, where I had to be messing with about 120 Hindu boys. I am sorry to say that except one, I never noticed any one doing his Sandhya prayers. I was one of the foremost to jeer at that young fellow, along with numerous others. I am afraid that in the present day hostels even that one cannot be found. Later in my life time, I have taken to this prayer with other prayers. But I have not been consistent. Some times a frenzy takes me and I sit for an hour and repeat the *Manthras* and then I continue for a few days reducing the hour to minutes and then discontinue the prayer for days together. That should not be the case. In the Bajana Mandir every one should be made to repeat the Manthra for a few minutes, once a week at least. All it is only a short prayer which will not take a few minutes and yet we do not follow this, our ancient prayer and in fact it is the first and foremost prayer that was ever revealed to this world.

Please close your eyes while I repeat this *Manthra*. Do not think that I am treating you like school boys. I am only one amongst you.

ओं भूर्भुव स्वः॥ तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं भर्गो

देवस्य धीमहि ॥ धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात् ॐ

I do not know whether I have repeated this with proper accent and the proper intonation. That also shows how low we have fallen! Let Sri Krishna forgive me for any wrong intonation, which may have given a wrong meaning to the mantra. He is sure to forgive us on account of our sincerity. The meaning is simple, Swami Vivekananda translated it as :

“We meditate on the glory of that Being who has produced this Universe: May He “Enlighten our minds”.

I know that very detailed and elaborate meanings are given to this Mantra by learned men. But we need not go into that aspect. The translation given by the Swami is quite sufficient to make us understand the spirit of the meaning. Then we must repeat various stanzas from the Gita, especially those slokas which I have repeated at the earlier part of this address.

Religion of Patriotism.

After repeating this Manthra a few times and after meditating on the Gita Slokas we must begin the songs in praise of the Divine Mother. With Swami Vivekananda we must say :

“Oh thou Mother of Strength take away my weakness, take away my unmanliness and make me a man !”

We must visualise our Motherland as one living in flesh and blood. As Sri Arabindo Ghose once wrote :

“It is not till the Motherland reveals herself to the eye of the mind as something more than a

"stretch of earth or a mass of individuals, it is not
"till she takes shape as a GREAT DIVINE and
"MATERNAL POWER in a form of beauty that
"can dominate the mind and seize the heart that
"these petty fears and hopes vanish in the
"all-absorbing passion of our Mother and her
"service, and the patriotism that works miracles and
"saves doomed nation is born. Once that vision
"has come to a people, there can be no rest, no
"peace, no further slumber till the temple has been
"made ready, the image intalled and the sacrifice
"offered. A great nation which has that vision can
"never again be placed under the feet of the
"conqueror". (Cheers). When will we see that day?

.....

Friends, kindly excuse me for my failure to control my emotions. I am one of the weakest of the sons of our Motherland. I know that it is not enough to have this emotion. Yet we must do everything to create this emotion and harness it in the work of raising our Motherland. That should be the only aim of the Bharatha Matha Bajana Mandir. Let others work in political and other various fields open to them in this land of ours. Let the brothers of this Mandir create this emotion in every Hindu heart, in the village, in the town, on the mountains and in the forests. Thus let us create a "Religion of Patriotism" in our Barathakanda. Then our Mother will reveal herself in all her Divine Glory and She will come riding on Her Lion-*vahana*. Who

can stand against Her without falling prostrate before Her Divine feet ? Let us think, work, dream and pray for this Vision of our Mother. Then our India will be the first amongst all the nations of this world.

Home Bajana Mandirs.

Those of us who on account of circumstances and temperament are unable to join such Bajana Mandirs can certainly have such Mandirs in our own homes. Whatever the position of a Hindu male may be, I refuse to believe that he cannot get a few minutes every day to sit at even time along with his children and other members of the family in front of a lighted lamp, with a map of India hanging near it, with or without the picture of Our Baratha Matha, and try to concentrate his mind and thus set the example to others in the home. Our "uneducated" mothers soon after sunset light a small lamp, show it outside the home and then bring it inside. Most of the houses of such women will have a niche in a clean place of the house, which is treated as the place where the Deity presides. Call it a shrine : call it a puja room : or call it a prayer room. It does not matter. Of course our English educated sisters may call it a 'superstition' and will be spending that time in the Cinema halls! Let us not care for these women. Let us take steps to revive this practice of our "uneducated" mothers. There in the quietness of the home let five minutes be spent forgetting all the miseries of this world thinking of the Supreme Almighty and Our Motherland. If every Hindu householder begins this practice then I

am sure that a new spirit will arise in our country within a year. Will our brother Hindus at least begin to do this? Then I will feel that I have been rewarded amply for this talk to you to day. (Cheers).

Conclusion.

I think, friends it was the late Dr. Hardayal, who once said :

"Fear not brothers, Hindudom is not a fossil, is
"not a moribund organism. It is a living Being,
"still possessed of a mighty heart that rings as
"strong as a Herculean Bell and with Upanishads
"and Gita, if but we organise ourselves, fear none
"and keep true and *depend upon ourselves* it may,
"nay, it is bound to prosper and win conquests as yet
"undreamt of".

Friends, these are noble and encouraging words ! I only say "Fear not Brothers. Have courage Brothers."

Friends, I have come to the end of my talk. Nothing remains for me but to thank you and the Divinity, which lives in you and me and which has sustained you and all of us in good spirit for such a long time. Friends, words fail me to adequately thank you for giving me the opportunity to unburden myself. These thoughts have been weighing heavily in my heart for a number of years and now I feel, I have done my duty, in a humble way. Once again I thank you, friends, for your patience. *Namasthai. Vaudemotharam.*
(Loud Cheers).

the frogs in the well. Sometimes I feel that a number of Sanathanists should be gathered from all over India and they should all be settled in these portions of our land at least for six months (laughter). Then they will realise that they have been in a fool's paradise, talking about untouchability and superiority of one caste over another caste.

Suddhi.

Many of us, who have been thinking on this subject feel that some of the best remedies to save our ancient Nation from extinction is by taking every legitimate means to take back all those converts, who had left Hinduism by Suddhi and to allow Temple entry for Harijans, as the surest way of removing the sentimental logic of untouchability, and to take every step which will prevent our people from going out of Hinduism. If the Sanathanists think that there are better remedies let them not keep their secrets in their inmost hearts but let them come out openly and not only talk about their remedies but immediately take steps to bring them into practicalities, instead of going in deputations to the Governors of Provinces and worrying with telegrams the only independent Hindu King of this word—I mean Nepal. With prostrations at the feet of every Sanathanist I beg of them to think of the Grave Danger that is steadily moving, crushing on its path our Hinduism like the modern tanks used in the present war. Otherwise they will never get salvation. (Cheers).

Do not think that I am using such language to excite you. Almost all of you who are present here have

known me for a number of years. In such a meeting of a small number of friends I need not take to such tactics. Believe me when I say that I have spent sleepless nights thinking over this subject for the last three years. The more I think about this, the more I feel the Danger. Some of you have shared my thoughts for over six months; we have been discussing them almost every week. These various thoughts in this address are not solely that of mine, but they are the thoughts of a few others also. They do not want to come into the limelight expressing the thoughts to others. It is by their unanimous command that I have taken this responsibility of speaking to you. The thoughts are those of many but the language is that of mine.

Friends! Do not abuse and condemn the Sanathanists however blind they may be. We have already enough of parties quarrelling with one another. Let us not create another by harsh language. Whenever an opportunity occurs talk to them quietly and use the Socratic method of cornering them. Last year an elderly gentleman of about 70 years, I brought round to my view point by showing him the census figures and a map of India proposed to be divided by the Muslims as Muslim Zone and Hindu Zone. Hence please use polite method in attacking them.

Our Temple Funds.

Whatever the attacks of hostile preachers within and outside the Hindu fold against Temples may be, they are increasing in numbers and many of the famous ones